Comte *Du Lude's*

TREATISE

OF

SPIRITS, *&c.*

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ:
OR, A
TREATISE
OF
SPIRITS.

WHEREIN
Several Places of Scripture are Expounded, againſt the Vulgar ERRORS concerning WITCHCRAFT, APPARITIONS, &c.

To which is added,
An APPENDIX, containing ſome REFLECTIONS on Mr. *Boulton*'s Anſwer to Dr. *Hutchinſon*'s Hiſtorical Eſſay; entitled *The Poſſibility and Reality of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft demonſtrated.*

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The
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THE

PREFACE.

THE Holy Ghoſt tells us, *Acts* xi. 47. *That the Lord added daily to the Church ſuch as ſhould be ſaved:* A Place of Holy Scripture ſufficient to ground that Article, whereby we conſtantly profeſs to believe *The Holy Catholick Church*; or, as it is in the *Nicene* Creed, *One Catholick and Apoſtolick Church.* For this Text clearly teaches us theſe Three Things,

 1. That

1. That there is a Church.
2. That this Church is but One, that there is not Another. And,
3. That we muſt be of *that* Church to be ſav'd.

The Difficulty is, What this Church is? A Difficulty found out by the Genius of evil Men, who being not contented with what is reveal'd in GOD's own Book, have ſought out many Inventions, and written Cart-loads of Books, more capable of diſtracting Thouſands, than of directing One Man in the Right Way to Heaven.

As for my Part, I think to ſee plainly (and without much to do) *this Church*, in God's Holy and Infallible *Word*, that Word, *to which, whoſoever addeth any thing, and from which, whoſoever taketh any thing, is*

is curſed. For believing ſtedfaſtly that *Jeſus Chriſt*, and *Jeſus Chriſt* Alone, is *the Way, the Truth, and the Life:* I ſee there a Society of Men profeſſing to Believe in Him, having Communion together in the Uſe and Participation of all and every one of the Ordinances which Himſelf hath Inſtituted to that Purpoſe: And theſe Ordinances, according to the Letter of their Inſtitution, are adminiſtred by Hands rightly Ordained thereunto; *For no Man taketh upon him this Office, but he that is Called, as* Aaron *was.* So that *this Church* is One, becauſe the Members thereof have One and the ſame *Faith* in the Holy Jeſus, and their Communion is in the *Partaking of the ſame Ordinances*, which are all of his Inſtitution, and of no Body elſe. This is the One Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick

Church, which hath its Orthodox Miniſtry of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons untainted with Schiſm, Hereſy, or Apoſtacy; who miniſter duly the undefiled Service of the Church without Superſtition, or Idolizing any Creature, whether Dead Men, or Men Alive, or any other Material or Image; for our GOD is a *Spirit*, that *will be Worſhipped in Spirit and in Truth.*

Wherefore, that GOD may be rightly Served and truly Glorified upon Earth by this holy Congregation, let him be the ſole Object of all Religious Worſhip. Read carefully upon this, the 7th Chapter of this Book, of the *Firſt Commandment of the Law.* Secondly, Let all Chriſtians purify themſelves for the pure Worſhip of that GOD, *whoſe Eyes are ſo pure, that he cannot behold Iniquity.* And

And above all Things, Let us be well ſatisfied, that the GOD with whom we have to do, is not only the Eternal GOD, without Beginning or End; not only the Almighty GOD, who doth whatſoever pleaſes him, and hath made all Things; not only the infinitely wiſe GOD, who ordereth all things rightly and juſtly, and hath created nothing with a Capacity to oppoſe his Will. But let us alſo conſider well, and never forget, that our GOD is *Ens perſe Exiſtens*, a Spirit who hath his Being from Himſelf, and is All-ſufficient to Himſelf; who as he hath created All Things of Nothing, ſo he can reduce them to Nothing when he will, and his Hand can never be ſhortned; he can create Thouſands of Worlds, and govern them without Help, or even the Concurrence of

of any Creature, leaſt of all of Satan, or of thoſe deviliſh Spirits, ſuppoſed to be ſo buſy about the Affairs of this World, and ſuch powerful Inſtruments in GOD's Hands to vex and puniſh Men; whereas we cannot but know and acknowledge that our Sins are Provocations enough, and our ſelves ſufficient Inſtruments for all the Judgments he thinks fit to inflict upon us.

Another Thing is abſolutely neceſſary, That our GOD may have his Due, and be truly glorified by us, tho' his unworthy Servants, and that is, that we hold faſt and perſevere in the Profeſſion of our holy Chriſtian Faith, and be well fortified againſt all *Arian* and *Socinian* Hereſies, that we may own and publiſh that the firſt Foundation of this Chriſtian

Chriſtian Religion is, *that Jeſus Chriſt, the Eternal Son of God is the Only Mediator and Redeemer promiſed by the Prophets*; which is not prov'd by a ſtronger Argument, than that which is formed from the Meſſage ſent by St. *John* the Baptiſt to our Saviour by two of his Diſciples, and CHRIST's Anſwer to him, *Luke* vii. 19, 20, 21, 22. For now Men do not make ſufficient Reflection upon that Place, as this Book doth; that our Saviour takes no Notice of his caſting out Dæmons, which St. *John*'s Diſciples had ſeen him do; for by this it is evident, that this Caſting-out, was the Curing one ſort of thoſe Diſeaſes, which the Prophets had ſaid the Chriſt ſhould heal, as an infallible Proof that he was the Meſſiah promiſed. And I intreat the

Jews

Jews to consider it well, for it may be affirmed, that they are not like ever to find him, if they find him not in this Place.

THE

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ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ:

OR, A

Treatiſe of Spirits, &c.

Several Places of Scripture expounded, againſt the vulgar Errors of Witchcraft, &c.

MOST Interpreters, eſpecially of the latter Days, underſtand that Place of Scripture, 1 *Tim.* iv. 1. That the Doctrine of Dæmons (tranſlated *Devils*) ſignifies no more than a *Deviliſh Doctrine*, inſpir'd and taught by the *Devil*. This Interpretation doth

indeed ſet forth a true Doctrine; for every *Ill Opinion*, eſpecially in *Religion*, is originally from the *Devil:* But who can conceive that St. *Paul* ſhould ſo autentically warn Chriſtians of it, particularly in the Point of *Marriage* and *Abſtinence from Meat*, in this Place, rather than in the ſecond Chapter of his Epiſtles to the *Coloſſians*, and in other Places, where he condemns other Doctrines, not leſs, if not more dangerous than theſe. There was no occaſion here, or any where elſe, to call Doctrines of Devils, thoſe that were condemned by him; his condemning them was ſufficient to inform all Believers, that they proceeded from another Principle than the Spirit of God. Many are the unanſwerable Reaſons for our underſtanding of theſe Words, as *Epiphanius* long ago expounded them, which Expoſition is approv'd by many very learned Men. There are ſeveral ancient Copies of the New Teſtament, wherein after theſe Words, *Doctrines of Devils*, you will find theſe, *For they ſhall be Worſhippers of dead Men, as thoſe that were ador'd in Iſrael.*

(a) If

(a) If theſe Words are St. *Paul's* Words, he hath expounded himſelf; if they are not, they who added them underſtood the Place as I do, and they are very ancient Interpreters, for theſe Words were in St. *Epiphanius* his Copy, who quoted them as being St. *Paul's* own words; but *Epiphanius* liv'd about the Year 350. If ſo many other Interpreters have not lik'd the ſame Explication, it is becauſe they did not well conſider the Doctrines of the *Heathen*, concerning their Dæmons, and did not make ſerious Reflections upon a Place whereof they had given at firſt ſuch an Expoſition as pleaſed them, and which is good in it ſelf, tho' not the proper Senſe of the Text.

The Heathen beleiv'd but one ſupreme God, tho' *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, ſaith, that the Heathen held

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(a) See the New Teſtament of *Oxford.* Ἔσονται γὰρ νεκροῖς λατρεύοντες ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐσεβήθησαν.

(b) *Plutarch* of the Oracles that are ceaſed. Hæc de Deo ſentit, quod ſit incorporeus, is unus ait, Aperimetros, Genitor, *&c.*

Two firſt Principles, or two Gods, one good, and the other evil; and the ſecond was called *Dæmon:* yet this is a Truth clear enough, that the Heathen did acknowledge one only Sovereign God, and Maſter above the reſt. There are indeed many Contradictions in their Writings, which we will not undertake to reconcile; but certain it is, that many, yea the moſt conſiderable among them, believed this one only God, and *Plutarch* himſelf affirms it, for he introduces *Cleombutus*, ſaying, that the *Stoicks* were of the ſame Opinion with him, and that they held, that in ſo great Multitude of Gods, there was but one Eternal and Immortal, and that all the reſt have had a Being by Birth, and ſhall have an End by Death. It was *Plato*'s Doctrine in *Timeo* at *Parm.* *Celſus* likewiſe nameth one God, who is above all. *Apuleius* relating *Plato*'s Opinion ſays that he believ'd but one God, who made all Things, and who is the Giver of all good Things. St. *Auſtin*, takes notice of his doctrine *De civit. Dei. l.* 9. *cap.* 16. and *Vives* in his Notes quotes thoſe Places of *Plato* where it is aſſerted. *Triſmegiſtus* in

in *Aſclepius* teaches every where, that there is one God: *Deus unus*, ſaith he, more than once, *Solus & merito Solus*, "The Lord of Eternity, that made the "World, the Father and the Lord of all "Things, by whom the celeſtial Gods, "and afterwards Men, have been crea-"ted; the only Governors of the World, "whom every one obeyeth. He ſaith further, that all Things are of him, and depend upon his Will. *Chriſtotle* tells us, that it is a common Opinion received of all Men, that all Things are of God: As for him, he believes that there is but one God, who perſeveth all Things.

It ſhould be noted, that tho' *Plutarch* ſpeaks of two, yet it doth not appear that his Opinion was that theſe two Gods were equally ſupreme, for himſelf called one *Dæmon*, and finds a vaſt difference betwixt the great Gods and the *Dæmons*; for in the ſame Treatiſe he affirms, that what the Fable relates of *Oſioris* and *Typho* did happen neither to the Gods, nor to Men, but to ſome great Dæmons who proved ſtronger than Men:

and

and yet their Nature is not purely divine, but compounded of a ſpiritual and corporeal Being: whereupon he declares the Opinion of *Plato*, who ſaith, that the Dæmons are between the Gods and Men; and that *Iſis* and *Oſiris* had been changed from good Dæmons into Gods, becauſe of their Vertues. *Plutarch* doth not admit of two Principles only, but puts a third betwixt them, and ſay that they called the good one *Oromazes*, the evil *Arimanius*, and the third *Mithres*: He tells us farther, that this Oppoſition betwixt two Principles, is found only in this lower World, under the Moon; that theſe contrary Powers are not equal, and the beſt is the ſtrongeſt. : He quotes *Homer*, who calls *Jupiter* the Maſter, the Governor, the Lord of the whole World. : Laſtly, in the ſame Place he owns one God, that rules and governs the whole World; and in his Diſcourſe of the Word Ἐις, he declares that there is but one only God.

That the great Gods, have no Communication with Men.

THis Aſſertion ſeems to be contradicted, in the Acts of the Holy Apoſtles, *ch.* 14. where it is ſaid, that the People, took *Barnabas* for *Jupiter*, and call'd *Paul Mercurius*; it is ſaid that *Jupiter* and *Apollo* anſwered by Oracles, and that *Celſus*, calleth the Sun the Moon, and the Stars truly Celeſtial Heroes: Yet this Opinion is found in very good Authors, whereby it appears, that the Heathen did hold this as a Truth, *That the Celeſtial Gods did not meddle with Men, and had no Commerce with them*; that it had been a thing unworthy of them to come down and that it was only by the Dæmons, that Men had any Communication with Heaven.

ven. See what *Apuleius* ſaith of it (*a*); his Doctrine is that of *Plato*, which St. *Auſtin* relates thus, *De Civit Dei. l.* 8. *c.* 8. 'They place their Dæmons be-
'tween Heaven and Earth, that as no
'God can have any Commerce with
'Men, theſe Dæmons do carry to the
'Gods, the Prayers of Men, and from
'thence they bring unto Men that which
'they have obtained; for they that hold
'this Opinion, do believe it an un-
'worthy thing, that the Gods ſhould
'have any thing to do with Men, or
'Men with the Gods; but it is con-
'venient that the Dæmons ſhould have
'to do both with the Gods, and with
'Men, to let the Gods know what Men
'do deſire, and to bring unto Men,
'what the Gods have granted." Upon this *Vives* tells us of *Plato*'s Banquet, where is found what St. *Auſtin* ſaith; and noteth alſo, that *Plato* aſcribeth

(*a*) De Deo Socratis. Hos cunctos Deos in ſublimi ætheris vertice locatos, ab humana contagione procul diſcretos, plurimi non rite venerantur, &c. Quos Deos Plato exeſtimat veros, incorporales, animales ſine ullo, neque fine, neq; exordio, ſed prorſus ac retro aviternos, &c.

this

this Doctrine to *Socrates*. ‘ Love, ſaith ‘ *Diotimus* to *Socrates*, is a great Dæmon, ‘ and every Dæmon is betwixt God and ‘ Mortal Man, and his Office is to in- ‘ terpret betwixt both, and to carry ‘ from Men their Prayers and their Sa- ‘ crifices; and from Gods, Commands ‘ and Rewards: And by this Channel we ‘ have all that concerns Predictions, Sa- ‘ crifices, Inchantments, the Art of Divi- ‘ nation and Magick: for God doth not ‘ communicate himſelf unto Man, but ‘ all the Communication is by the Media- ‘ tion of Dæmons, and by them the ‘ Gods ſpeak to Men, whether when ‘ they are awake, or when they are aſleep. *Plutarch* ſays, that to take away Dæmons, is to take away the Communication between the Gods and Men; that they believe not that the Gods are preſent at their Sacrifices, neither do they take notice of them perſonally, but that Buſineſs is committed to the Miniſters of the Gods, *viz.* the Dæmons; that not the Gods, but the Dæmons did preſide in the Oracles; that it is fit we ſhould believe the Gods are wholly freed from

all Commerce with Things on the Earth: Yea it was a Dæmon named *Phœbus* who ſpoke in the Oracle at *Delphos*. Finally he tells us, that he hath taken away the Art of Divination from the Gods, to appropriate it abſolutely to the Dæmons. It is alſo the Opinion of *Apuleius*, in the fore-cited Place, wherein he attributes to Dæmons all the Miracles that are wrought, all the Propheſies of Things to come, and all Sacrifices.

That if the People of *Lyſtra* cryed out, ſeeing a Miracle done by the Apoſtles, *that the Gods become like Men, were come down to them*, there were no reaſon to think that they ſpake of the Celeſtial Gods; the Dæmons, whoſe Habitation was the higheſt part of the Air, were alſo called Gods, as *Plutarch* hath obſerved. Of the Oracles ceaſed, *n.* 8. 16. *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, *n.* 12. That every Dæmon, did bear the Name of that Celeſtial God, whoſe Miniſter he was. The Philoſophers likewiſe attributed to Dæmons whatſoever the Poets ſaid of the Gods, coming down upon the Earth; and *Plutarch* quoteth

eth *Pythagoras*, *Xenocrates* and *Criſippus* for it, as holding the ſame Opinion. *Plato* in *Timeo* ſaith, that *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the reſt were Dæmons, and ſpeaks of their being begotten. *Triſmegiſtus* in *Aſclepius* ſaith, That there is an Adminiſtrator between Heaven and Earth, whom we call *Jupiter*; and that there is another *Jupiter Platonius*, who hath Dominion over the Earth, and the Sea, and who feeds Animals and Plants, and places both theſe *Jupiters* under the Sovereign God. It may be ſaid, that the Apoſtles Miracle ſeemed ſo great to the People of *Lyſtra*, that it made them raiſe up their Thoughts immediately to the Celeſtial Gods, and to call for Sacrifices, which the Prieſt did not oppoſe; their Buſineſs; being to keep the People in their blind Devotion; but from thence no Concluſion can be drawn againſt what we read of the Doctrine commonly held among the Heathen.

Celſus ſpeaks not what is aſcribed to him; and what is truly quoted of him, ſhews plainly that he believ'd a Sovereign

Divinity, above all the reſt; and Dæmons, that were his Lieutenants, Satrapes, and Generals of his Armies. *Origen* in his firſt Book againſt *Celſus* ſaith, that Men ſhould not pray to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, nor yet to the Celeſtial Angels, that are more certain: But it is *Origen* that ſpeaks, who hath ſpoken nothing of *Celſus* before; but he only blam'd the *Jews* for Worſhiping Heaven, and Angels, while they deſpis'd the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, which are the moſt excellent Parts of Heaven; and which do foretel many Things. *Pleraque vaticinantur.*

That the Dæmons had been Men; and of Evil Dæmons.

THE conſtant Opinion of the Heathen about Dæmons, was that they had been Men, and for their excellent Virtues and eminent Qualities, which they ſhew'd whilſt they were upon Earth, were thought worthy to be taken up, and be made Partakers of ſuch Portion of a Divine Thing, as inabled them to be Mediators, Interpreters, and Tranſactors in all manner of Buſineſſes betwixt the Gods and Men: Tho' the *Platonicians* did believe a kind of Dæmons that had never been Men, yet they believ'd likewiſe, that the Souls of great Men were glorify'd after there Death, and became Dæmons. *(a) Apuleius*

(a) De Deo Socratis; vide Vivem in Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 9. c. 11.

ex-

expreſly diſtinguiſhes theſe two ſorts of Dæmons, and ſaith, 'That theſe are 'called Gods, who have lived juſtly and 'prudently, are afterwards honour'd 'by Men as Divinities, as *Amphiarnus* 'in *Boetia*, *Mopſus* in *Africa*, *Aſiris* in *Egypt*, '*Aeſculapius* every where: And that theſe 'were that ſort of Dæmons who had 'been formerly in Human Bodies. But 'that there is another kind of Dæmons, 'Nobler and more Excellent, which 'were never bound with the Bonds 'of a Body.' Take notice of this of *Plato*: His Dialogue intitled *Cratylus*, was compos'd to ſhew the Signification of Words, and how they agree with the Things themſelves. *Socrates* acts the part of a *Judge*, between *Hermogenes*, *Pythagoras* and *Cratylus*, a Follower of *Heraclitus*; this is he, who for the moſt part expounds Names; obſerve what they ſay of the Name of Dæmons; 'Do you 'know, ſaith *Socrates*, who thoſe are 'that *Heſiodus* calls Dæmons? *Hermes* 'anſwers, I know not *Socrates*: And 'do you not know that ſort of Men 'which he calls the *Golden Race*? *Hermo-*

'*genes*

'*genes* replies, I know that *Socrates* ſays,
'That when that Race of Men was co-
'vered with Death, they were called
'*Dæmons*, Saints raiſed up above the
'the Earth, Guardians of Mortal Men,
'and their Protectors againſt the Evils
'that might happen to them. *Hermoge-*
'*nes*. What do you conclude from that?
'*Socrates*. I believe that he calls a Golden
'Race, not that which is made of that
'Metal, but a ſort of Men very virtu-
'ous and excellent in all Things; but
'that which makes me believe it, is be-
'cauſe he ſaith that we are a Generation
'of Iron. *Hermes*. You ſay true *Socra-*
'*tes*; Do you not think then that if
'there were amongſt us any honeſt Man,
'that he was of that Golden Generation,
'according to *Heſiodus* his Opinion?
'*Hermes*. It ought to be ſo *Socrates*;
'Are honeſt Men any thing elſe but
'wiſe Men? *Hermes*. Certainly they
'are wiſe Men. *Socrates*. He calleth
'therefore, as I think, that ſort of *Men*
'*Dæmons*, becauſe they were wiſe and
'learned; for according to the ancient

'Dia-

'Dialect of our Language, this Name 'is given to them that are ſuch: there-'fore both he, and other Poets in great 'Numbers do ſpeak perfectly well, when 'they ſay that after a Man is dead well, 'he receives a great Reward, and that 'he is made a *Dæmon*, according to the 'Title due to his Wiſdom: As for me, 'I fear not to affirm, that every good 'Man is a *Dæmon*, and that he ſhould 'be ſo called both in his Life-time, and 'after his Death. St. *Auſtin* doubted not but this was the *Platonick* Doctrine, ſince the Title of one of his Chapters is this, De Civitate Dei. *l.* 9. *c.* 11. *Of the* Platonician's *Opinion, who believe that the Souls of Men are Dæmons after they are gone out of their Bodies.* *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe of the *Familiar Spirit* of *Socrates*, ſaith expreſly, *That the deify'd Souls became Dæmons, and take care of Men.*

After this it cannot be ſaid that *Plato* did not teach, that there were *Dæmons* which had been *Men*, and theſe very *Dæmons* were eſteemed the true Mediators be-

betwixt the celeſtial Gods and Men, who carried the Prayers up to Heaven, and brought down Bleſſings and Rewards; who received the Oblations, and returned Anſwers. This is preciſely what *Heſiodus* taught: He was a Poet, I confeſs, but beſides that, the Poets were the People's Divines; this is quoted as a great Author, and we have ſeen before that it is particularly upon his Opinion that *Socrates* in *Plato* groundeth his teaching *Dæmons*; tho' he maketh likewiſe, that many other Poets had ſaid the ſame Things. Hear how *Plato* ſpeaks in another Place upon the ſame Subject, *Shall we not believe* Heſiodus? *Surely after the Men of this ſort be dead, they are conſtituted Dæmons, Saints, and rais'd up above the Earth* (very good;) *and appointed to preſerve mortal Men from Evil, and to protect them*; (truly we believe it ſo.)

Here we ſhould particularly take Notice of *Plato*'s Opinion, becauſe his Sect was very much followed in St. *Paul*'s Time. *Vives*, upon the laſt quoted

Place of St. *Auſtin*, doth obſerve, that the Sentiments of Philoſophers, tho' of the ſame Sect, were very different about the Gods, and that *Apuleius* was of another Opinion than *Plato* in that Point; and I cannot find that *Plato* diſtinguiſhes, as *Apuleius* does, two ſorts of *Dæmons*, whereof ſome had been Men, and others not: Yea, *Apuleius* ſays only that Philoſophers did ſuppoſe three ſorts of Gods, *viz.* a ſovereign one, the firſt and only God of that Order, above the World, and incorporeal: after him the Planets, and the other Divinities, called Celeſtial; and then, laſtly, they whom the ancient *Romans* named *Medioximi*, whoſe Quality, Power and Habitation were below that of celeſtial Gods, and above that of Men. But there he makes no Diſtinction of *Dæmons*, and all that he ſays will not make us believe otherwiſe, but that he meant thoſe Souls of Men which (in his Opinion) being ſeparated from their Bodies, became *Dæmons*, being rais'd up to that middle Nature betwixt the Gods and Men, which he calls properly *Dæmons*, and to whom

whom he alſo gives the Name of *Gods*. It's true, he likewiſe allows the Name of *Dæmon* to *Saturn*, *Rea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and others that were accounted celeſtial Gods; but we muſt obſerve, that the moſt common Opinion was, that thoſe Gods had been Men, and that the ſame was conſtantly believ'd of them; which *Plutarch* ſaith of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, *viz.* that of *Dæmons* they had been made *Gods*, and that the Worſhip render'd to them was a mixed Worſhip of that of the *Gods*, and that of *Dæmons*. *Plato* in in like manner calls *Dæmon* the *Soul of a Man*, even *before it be out of the Body*, with reſpect to that Excellency that makes him capable of becoming a *Dæmon*, after his Separation from the Body. All this perſuades me that *Plato* believed but one ſort of *Dæmons*, properly ſo called, and what I have noted of him juſtifies that he own'd, that all thoſe *Dæmons* were the Souls of Men departed, who had lived in the Practice of Vertue. This is ſo much the more probable that he ſaith, that it was above his Capacity

to explain well what they were, whom they called *Dæmons*, and that we muſt abide by the Opinion of ancient Authors, who being the Sons of the Gods, did beſt know their Parents Opinion. Now the Ancients are *Heſiodus*, and the other Poets of the ſame Opinion, and who have ſaid that the *Dæmons* were the Souls of Men of the *Golden Generation*; *Hermes Triſmegiſtus* was one of the Sons of the Gods. St. *Auſtin* declares his Opinion thus; *De Civit. Dei. l. 8. c. 26.* he gives to underſtand that he believ'd that the *Dæmons* were made of the Souls of Men departed. *Cicero*, who was a *Platonician* ſaith, in the ſecond Book of Laws, *That the Denicals were Feſtivals dedicated to the Dead, which* (ſaith he) *had not been, had not the Ancients believ'd that they leaving this Life, are admitted into the Number of the Gods.*

As for *Apuleius* his Notion, *That there were two ſorts of Dæmons, ſome that had been Men, and others that had never been (a) cumber'd with corporeal Bonds:* It is remarkable,

(a) Si nubes ſublime volitant, &c. Quid tandem futurâ cenſes Dæmonum corpora, quæ concreta multo minus, & tanto

remarkable, that he aſcribes to the ſecond ſort, certain Bodies formed of the pureſt Air, and of a moſt ſubtile Compoſition. It is the Sentiment of *Plutarch*, who tells us in *The Oracles that are ceaſed, That they are Spirits cloathed with an airy Subſtance.* Thus *Amiot* hath tranſlated the 125th Verſe of *Heſiodus*'s Works, called *The Works of Days*, quoted by *Plutarch*: But when *Heſiodus* names Ἥρα ἱβάμενον, he ſpeaks of Men of the *Golden Generation*, who had been made *Dæmons* by *Jupiter*: From whence may be conjectur'd, that thoſe excellent *Dæmons*, according to *Apuleius*, who had Bodies formed of the pureſt and moſt ſubtile Air, were according to *Heſiodus* and *Plutarch* that quotes him, the Souls of dead Men. And it muſt be confeſs'd, that the moſt common Opinion was, that there were none other.

But ſuppoſe that the Notion of *Apulieus* were admitted, and *Plato* held the

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tanto ſublimiora? non enim ſunt ex hac feculenta nebula tumida caligine conglobata, ſed ex illo puriſſimo æris liquido & ſereno elemento coalita. De Deo Socratis.

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ſame (which doth not appear.) The Diſtribution made by *Apuleius* of the ſeveral Employments of each ſort of *Dæmons*, muſt alſo be own'd to have been a common Doctrine, and *Plato*'s Doctrine too; and this is manifeſt, that the Mediatorſhip betwixt the Gods and Men, could belong (according to the common Opinion, and that of *Plato*) only to the *Dæmons* that had been mention'd: and this is the Aſſertion; for in the firſt place *Apuleius* ſaith, *That the Lares, and ſuch as were called* Dei Penates, *are of the Number of thoſe Dæmons that had been Men.* And in Explication of *Plato*'s Principles he ſays, *That the Dæmons, whom we may call* Genia *and* Lares, *are eſteemed to be the Miniſters of the Gods, the Guardians of Men, and their Interpreters; if they requeſted any thing of the Gods.* Secondly, *Apuleius* aſcribes to the *Dæmons* who never were Men, another Office than of Mediators betwixt the Gods and Men; he ſays, *That they are always near and Aſſiſtant to Men,* ſemper ad ſunt, *to conſider all their Actions, and take Notice even of their Thoughts; that after Men are departed, they*

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go with their Souls to give Teſtimony of their Behaviour, whereupon Judgment is given. Hence it appears, that the Office of carrying the Prayers and Oblations of Men to Heaven, and bringing from thence Bleſſings and Rewards, did belong to the *Dæmons* that had been Men; that which *Plato* hath taught very clearly in the Places I have cited. They that will be more particularly informed concerning the Diſtinction of *Dæmons*, may read *Marcillus Ficinus* upon the 10th Book of *Plato*'s Republick, at the latter end, and in *Timeo*, *c.* 14. But let it be noted, that here I take notice only of the airy *Dæmons* Mediators betwixt the celeſtial Gods and Men; which were alſo the Object of the People's Worſhip.

If it be objected, that the *Dæmons* cannot well be called the Miniſters of the great God, ſince they believed ſome good and ſome evil *Dæmons*. I anſwer, that I have ſpoken of the *Dæmons* Mediators, and the common Object of the Heathen's religious Worſhip; the Subject

ject requir'd not any notice to be taken of others, nor to be diſtinguiſh'd, where the Heathen made no Diſtinction. If in *Plutarch* ſome did believe wicked *Dæmons*, others do condemn that Opinion. According to *Plato* all *Dæmons* were Gods; and that Philoſopher acknowledged no Gods but good ones. *We have*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, *De Civit. Dei. l.* 8. *c.* 13. Plato's *Opinion who ſaith that the Gods are good, that there is no evil Gods which deſtroys their Opinion, who hold, that the evil Gods are to be appeas'd with Sacrifices, leſt they ſhould do us Miſchief.* *Celſus* own'd none but good ones. *Origen contra Celſ. lib.* 8. *fol.* 103.

It is here objected, that the Heathen in general did not believe that there were *Dæmons* in a middle State betwixt the great God and the Heroes, ſince the *Perapateticks* believ'd no Spirits ſave thoſe which God had fixed to each celeſtial Globe to turn it: That the *Stoicks* own'd no *Dæmons*, and that *Socrate*'s Opinion was very agreeable to that of Chriſtians. For anſwer to this

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I ſay, that the particular Opinion of one Sect is no Reaſon why the moſt common ſhould not be attributed to the general; my Deſign was to ſhew what was the moſt general Object of the People's Devotion, and the vulger Opinion on which it was grounded; I was not obliged to take notice of all the particular Opinions of Philoſophers which were not follow'd by the People. The *Peripateticks* did appear but very little in the Time of St. *Paul*; and theſe Intelligences which they join'd to each Sphere, were none other then the *Dæmons*, which the *Platonicians* affixed to them, as *Marcinus Ficinus* witneſſes; for all this they might believe the airy Dæmons we are diſcourſing of; I read nothing of them for that Time upon that Subject. The Opinion of *Epicurus*, who ſeem'd to deny all manner of Spirits, was then better approved than that of the *Peripateticks*, and yet it put no ſtop to the Devotion then in uſe among the People, according to the Principles of *Platonicians*, *Pythagorans*, and the Poets:

As for *Ariſtotle, lib. de Mundo, c.* 6. if he be the Author of that Book, he ſurely believ'd no Dæmons, either good or bad; he believed one only God, who being placed in the higheſt part of the Univerſe, did govern all the Motions thereof, as a Machine with ſeveral Wheels and Springs depending one upon another, tho' their Motions were very different; *None otherwiſe*, ſaith he, *than a Puppet Engineer, by one firſt Spring makes the reſt to move, and ſo ſets on work and motion all other Machines.* In his Opinion there is not a better Sentiment, nor more worthy of God's Goodneſs and Majeſty, than this, *That this Sovereign Power is ſeated in the higheſt Part of Heaven, communicates to all Things, even the fartheſt, of what is neceſſary for their Preſervation.* He cannot approve their Fancy, who hold, *That this Power comes down, and is inſerted into Things unworthy of it, and which cannot be named with Modeſty: Neither doth he believe that he needs any Servants, or Help, but he can do all Things by one ſingle Motion, with which*

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he ſets on work all others afterwards. And yet he confeſſes, that ancient Authors have ſaid, that all was full of Gods; and indeed *Plato* hath it in his *Epin.* This Doctrine of One God, who moves all Things by Himſelf, and without Help, is taught alſo by *Ariſtotle*'s Natural Philoſophy. It is true, that in his Metaphyſick he allows to each Heaven a ſeparate Subſtance, unmoveable, which gives Motion to the Orb. But in the ſecond Book of Heaven, *A.* 12. he affirms, That Heaven moves of it ſelf, as an Animal, and attributes a Soul to it, which his ancient Greek, Arabian, and Latin Interpreters have called a reaſonable Soul; ſo that it is not eaſy to know *Ariſtotle*'s particular Opinion: However, hear what he ſaith, *lib.* 2. *Metaph. c.* 8. "It hath been taught by "our Predeceſſors, even the moſt an-"cient, that the Planets are Gods, *&c.* "If any Man, (excepting him who is "the only firſt) takes up this Senti-"ment that the Ancients believ'd that

" *the firſt Subſtances were as Gods*, he will " judge that this was divinely ſaid.

Let every Man reflect on this Place, that will not believe, that any among the Heathen was ſimple enough to think that the Planets were Gods; or that *Jupiter*, *Mars*, &c. had their Abode aſſign'd them in the Planets that bear their Names; and which have it, ſaith he, " only be- " cauſe they believ'd that thoſe Gods had " particular Dominion upon the Influence " of thoſe Planets. I remember not to have read of this Notion any where; there is ſomething that comes near it, in the divers Sentiments of Philoſophers, mention'd by *Cicero* upon this Subject, in his Book *De Natura Deorum*; but I have found in the firſt Book, that ſeveral Philoſophers believ'd that the Planets were Gods. *Plato* in his *Epinomis*, teaches that they are animated Bodies, which muſt be ador'd as Gods: and in *Crytulus* he ſays, that thoſe Gods are called θεοὶ, becauſe they run continually. The Poets have declared,

(*a*) *that*

(a) that Apollo *was in the Sun, as in a Chariot, which he guided*; Diana *likewiſe in the Moon*, &c. *Apuleius*, in the Book which he writ of *Plato*'s Principles, and of *Socrates* his God, doth divide the celeſtial Gods into viſible and inviſible; and ſaith, that the viſible ones are the Lights of the World, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars.

But let us return to *Ariſtotle*, and I find that in his Time Men became Gods; he doth not declare his own Opinion of the Matter, but here is what he ſaith, "If Men become Gods, as they "hold, becauſe of the Excellencies of "their Vertues, the Habit of their "Mind, muſt neceſſarily be contrary "to a brutiſh Habit. In one Word, in the 7th B. *De Reipub.* he tells us, That the Gods muſt be honour'd by the People, and that the Service to be

(a) Voſſius de Idol. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 30, 31. Deos Cœlites partim viſu uſurpamus, alios intellectu veſtigamus: ac viſu quidem cernimus vos ô clariſſima mundi lumina, labentem cœlo quæ ducitis annum. De Deo Socratis.

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perform'd for them, ought to be committed to the oldeſt Men, who have need of Reſt. But if all this was taught, and after this Manner, by the *Peripateticks* in St. *Paul*'s Time, thoſe Philoſophers did not hold an Opinion contrary to the common People, who believed that the *Dæmons* were dead Men, which became the Object of the Adoration of the Living.

As for the *Stoicks*, I confeſs that they acknowlidg'd not the Mediation of Dæmons, ſince they believ'd that the Supreme God was the World; and that all the Gods Worſhipp'd under ſeveral Names, were only the ſeveral Parts of the World, whic were all Animated by, and Partakers of the Divinity of the whole, *Cicero de Nat. libr.* 1, 2. *n.* 3. But you know that this Opinion was not receiv'd among the People that worſhip'd the Celeſtial Gods, and Dæmons Mediators betwixt the Gods and Men; nor by the wiſe Men, who did own one Sovereign God, Maker and Maſter of the World, and rais'd up above the Hea-

Heavens. (*a*) God, ſaith *Triſmegiſtus* in *Aſclepio*, *lifted up above the top of the higheſt Heaven, is every where, takes Notice of all Things: for beyond Heaven there is a Place without Stars, ſeperated from all Corporeal Things. God*, ſaith *Ariſtotle, hath the firſt and the higheſt Seat.*

As for what is ſaid of *Socrates*, *That his Notions were conformable to thoſe of Chriſtians, eſpecially about Providence*, I have read what *Xenophon* relates in *lib.* 1. and 4. of memorable Things, and have found their *Philoſophy* intangled with *Pagan* Errors; but I met with no Chriſtianity there. He ſpeaks almoſt every where of Gods, in the Plural Number, and ſometimes calls them Dæmons: at the latter end of the 4th Book, he ſaith, *That a Dæmon whom he calls God, hindred him from anſwering his Judges.* Whereupon both *Apuleius* and *Plutarch* have written each of them a Treatiſe; the former of the

(*a*) See *Balzac*'s Antiquities of the Chriſtian Religion, or fourth Defence.

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(*a*) See *Balzac*'s Antiquities of the Chriſtian Religion, or fourth Defence.

God,

God, and the latter of the Dæmon of *Socrates*; or as *Amiot* tranſlates it, *Concerning the Familiar Spirit of* Socrates; and both do aſſert, that this God of *Socrates* was a Dæmon; that is, one of thoſe leſſer Gods, which were below and inferior to the great Gods. And will any Man think what *Socrates* ſays, lib. 4. *That the Gods muſt be honour'd after the Manner of the Country where we are*; doth ſavour much of Chriſtianity. Examine in the ſame Book, his Converſation with *Theodora*, and what *Xenophon* ſaith of him in his Banquet; and I aſſure my ſelf that *Eraſmus* himſelf would not cry out, *O Saint Socrates, pray for us!* The wiſe Heathen themſelves were not pleaſed with the Diſcourſes of *Socrates*, touching the Divinity. They have taken Notice, that he called the Sun *God*, and the Spirit of Man; and that he ſpake ſometimes as if there had been many *(b)*. His Death was honourable to him, and made him be looked upon as

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(b) Cicero de Nat. D. lib. 1. Arnob. lib. 8.

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a Martyr, for having true Sentiments of the Divinity: But the Truth is, that he had no ſettled Notions of God, and that he was put to Death merely for doubting of, and oppoſing the common Opinion the others had of the Gods, which were eſtabliſhed by Authority. The Fathers have ſhew'd that they have had no high Eſteem for him: And he that called him the *Athenian* Buffoon (as indeed Irony was his beloved Figure) was not minded to propoſe him as an Example to Chriſtians. What St. *Auſtin* relates of him, *De Conſenſu Ev. c.* 18. *That every God is to be ſerved after that Manner that himſelf hath ordained*; doth ſhew, that even an Heathen is to keep the Orders of the Divinity which is tendered to him; but it juſtifies alſo, that this wiſe Man was never enlightned with the right Knowledge of that One only God, who hath reveal'd himſelf to Man by his Word. However, *Socrate*'s Opinion was not the common Opinion of the Heathen, which we are now diſcourſing of; for *Xenophon, lib.* 1. *Rer. Mem.* tells us, *That this Philoſopher be-*

lieved that the Gods did take care of Humane Affairs after another Manner than many did imagine.

Of the Places where those Dæmons inhabited who were made Gods; and of COTTA's *Opinion.*

WHAT is ſaid, that Merit had raiſed up (*Hercules*, *Liber*, &c.) to Heaven ſeems to contradict what is affirm'd, *that Dæmons dwell only in the Air*: We have ſaid indeed, that the Dæmons Mediators betwixt the Gods and Men, *did dwell in the Air*. St. *Auſtin* tells us, That it was the Opinion of the Heathens, *De Civ. l. 8. c. 18, 21, 22. & lib. 9. c. 12.* for giving an Account of their Doctrine, he ſaith, " The Gods do hold the high-
" eſt Place, Men the loweſt, and Dæ-
" mons the middle; for the Habitati-
" on of the Gods is in Heaven, that

" of

" of Men upon Earth, and the Air is " that of Dæmons." *Apuleius, De D. S.* ſaith, " That the Dæmons are betwixt " Heaven and Earth, in that Place of " Air that is betwixt them. But this " Air where the Dæmons dwell, is not " the neareſt to the Earth; for as *A-* " *puleius* hath it, the Planets are above " in Heaven in the Æthere, that is, " in the Heat of a pure Fire; why " ſhould the Air alone, among the E- " lements, the Air which incloſes, be " left a Wilderneſs by Nature, and de- " ſtitute of Animals fit to cultivate the " ſame? For what ſome ſay, that Birds " are the Animals of the Air, cannot " be true: There is no Bird that flies " higher than the top of *Olympus*, which " is but few Furlongs eminent above " the Earth: What ſhall become then " of that great Space of the Air, which " reaches from the Moon to the top of " *Olympus*? Shall that be deſtitute of " Animals? Shall that Part of Nature " be dead and of no uſe? Conſider it " well: Birds cannot be eſteemed but " terreſtrial Creatures, they fetch their

" Food from the Earth, there they
" make their Reſt when they are
" weary; and the Air which they beat
" with their Wings in flying, is only
" this loweſt Air, near the Earth.
" Reaſon therefore will have us con-
" ceive, that what is truly the Air,
" hath alſo its proper Animals." By all theſe Reaſons he affirms, that the Dæmons are the Inhabitants of this Air above *Olympus*. It is alſo the Sentiment of *Hermes* in *Aſclepio*; " I ſpeak,
" ſaith he, of the Dæmons which I
" believe do dwell with us, and of
" thoſe airy ones, which dwell in the
" pureſt Part of the Air, above us and
" our Earth; where ariſes no Fog, and no
" Diſturbance." As for that Part of the Air neareſt to the Earth, *Hermes* thinks it to be the Place of the Damned, for he ſaith, " When the Soul is ſeparated
" from the Body, the great *Dæmon* exa-
" mines the Merits thereof; if it be
" adorned with Piety and Juſtice, it is
" permitted to go into convenient Pla-
" ces; but if he finds it polluted with
" Sins, and covered with Vices, he

" throws

" throws it down into low Places, and " expoes it to Storms and Whirl- " winds in the Air, to Water and " Fire, which do often fight together, " and ſo being always agitated with " continual Pains, it is toſſed, without " ceaſing, betwixt Heaven and Earth, " by the Waves of the World. Mark well *theſe Storms and Hurricanes betwixt Heaven and Earth*; for, to my thinking, this clearly teaches us, that Heaven, to the which theſe Heroes were raiſed up, is that Space of the Air above the Clouds where are no Commotions, and which ſhould be that convenient Place for righteous Souls.

However, I have ſufficiently ſhew'd, that according to the moſt conſtant, and common Doctrine of the Heathen, the Mediator *Dæmons*, are the Souls of dead Men, who lived virtuouſly, and whoſe conſtant Abode is in the higheſt and pureſt Part of the Air, whence they come down to Men, and go up to the Gods: If I have ſaid that *Herculus*, *Liber*, *&c.* were raiſed up to Heaven by their Merits,

Merits, that was the Opinion of the Heathen, as it is expreſs'd in the Laws of the twelve Tables. (*a*) We muſt ſay therefore, that the Heaven whereinto theſe were admitted after Death, was the higheſt and pureſt Part of the Air, which is often called Heaven, and where do dwell thoſe Souls which became *Dæmons*; or elſe we muſt ſay with *Plutarch*, that *Hercules*, *Liber*, *&c.* were turned from *Dæmons* into Gods, and conſequently alſo raiſed up from the Air into Heaven. As indeed *Heſiodus* his Opinion, as *Plutarch* witneſſes, in his Treatiſe of *The Oracles that are ceas'd*, was that the Souls of Virtuous Men, were changed into Heroes, or Demi-Gods: that afterwards they became *Dæmons*, that at laſt, being well purified by Vertue, they were made Gods, except thoſe that died *Dæmons*, and ſuch as were again entangled with mortal Bodies. This

(*a*) Cicero, Lib. 1. Legum. Separatim nemque habeſſit Deos ſive novos, ſed nec advenas, nice publice aſſitos: Ritus familiæ, patrumque ſervanto. Divos, & eos qui celeſtes ſemper habiti ſunt colunto. Et illos quos in cœlum merita vocaverint. Herculem, Liberum, Æſculapium, Caſtorem, pollucem, Quirinum, Deorum, Manuum jura ſancta ſunto. Hos Letho datos Divos habento.

This proves that the very celeſtial Gods, whom the greateſt part worſhip'd, had been Men as well as the *Dæmons*, and that St. *Auſtin* was in the right *De Civ. D. l.* 8. *c.* 26. when he ſaid, *That the whole Religion of the Heathen conſiſted in the Worſhip of dead Men.* That which he proves by the Authority of *Varro* and *Triſmegiſtus*, I will add to what he ſays, that the Genealogy of the Gods and their Actions, ſet forth by the *Poets*, and particularly by *Heſiodus*, as alſo written in Proſe, and ſeriouſly related by *Apollodorus*, as true Hiſtories, could not beget any other Sentiment in the People than this, That the Gods, whom they ſerved, had been Men. They could not but be confirmed in this Opinion, by the *Apotheoſes*, when they ſaw that publick Authority did from time to time canonize, and ſet in the Number of the Gods, ſome Men, whom they had ſeen to die. The Civil Magiſtrate, and both the high and ordinary *Prieſts* did unanimouſly labour to maintain the Vulgar in the ſame Opinion,

pinion, their Deſign being to have the higheſt Honours rendred after Death to them, who had beſt ſerved the State, whether in War, or in Peace; and keep the People in Awe, by the Fear of that Divine Power, which thoſe were rais'd up to in Heaven, to whom they had yielded Obedience upon Earth. This appears particularly by *Plato*'s Books, *De Republica*. The *Prieſts* were taken from among the Heads of the People, who could bear no longer the Burden of the Civil Wars; or whom they thought fit to make the Heads of Religion, for the Good of the State.

As for the private Notions they might have in their Souls concerning the Divinities they ador'd, and their Worſhip, we may judge of them by the Diſcourſe of one of their High-Prieſts, *Cotta in Cicero, De Nat. D. l.* 3. 'I 'have been ſenſibly touched, *Balbus*, 'with your Exhortation, to remember 'that I am *Cotta*, and a High-Prieſt; 'I perceive that the Meaning is, that 'I ought to defend the Doctrine we 'have

'have receiv'd from our Anceſtors, 'concerning the immortal Gods, and 'maintain the Sacrifices, Ceremonies 'and Religion, that's my Deſign, and 'I did it always; and all the Diſcourſe, 'whether of the Learned, or of the 'Ignorant, cannot take from me that 'Opinion I receiv'd from my Anceſtors 'touching the Worſhip of the Celeſtial 'Gods; but in the Caſe of Religion, 'I conſult with the High-Prieſts that 'went before me, and not with the 'old Philoſophers. I give more Credit 'to the Divine *Lælius*, than to the moſt 'learned *Stoicks* in the World. All the 'Religion of the People of *Rome* con-'ſiſts in the Sacrifices and Divinations: 'to which I may add the Predictions and 'Augures, whereof we are warned by 'the Interpreters of the *Sybils*, and by 'the *Haruſpices* of *Prognoſticators*. I hold 'that none of theſe Devotions is to be 'deſpiſed: and I am ſure that the 'Foundations of our State were lay'd 'upon the Prognoſtciations of *Romulus*, 'and upon the Ceremonies inſtituted 'by *Numa*. This is what *Cotta* believ'd,

'and what the High-Prieſt ought to 'believe: And now tell me your Thoughts 'for I am to learn of you, who are as 'Philoſopher, the Reaſon of our Religion. 'But I am to believe it upon the Au-'thority of our Anceſtors, tho' no Reaſon 'of it were given me. *Balbus* having 'asked him what he would have? he anſwered him thus, 'The firſt Thing 'is, that tho' all Men (except thoſe that 'are altogether ungodly) do agree that 'there are Gods, and nothing can per-'ſwade me of the contrary; yet I be-'lieve it merely upon the Authority 'of the Ancients, and you give me no 'Reaſon why it ſhould be believ'd. And a little after, 'Becauſe you judged 'not that this Truth was as plain as you 'deſir'd it ſhould be, you would prove 'by ſeveral Arguments, that there were 'Gods: as for me, it is ſufficient that 'the Ancients have convey'd it to us 'by Tradition; but you deſpiſe Authors 'and will diſpute by Reaſon: Give leave 'therefore to my Reaſon to diſpute with 'yours.' After this he maintains by Reaſon the Atheiſtical Part, which he ſays

he

he did renounce to hold to the Habitation of his Anceſtors, and out of Reſpect to their Authority. And what think you now? Doth not he, who calls himſelf the High-Prieſt among Chriſtians, make good uſe of Heatheniſh Principels? Do ye not think, that thoſe who would have us believe the Trinity, and other Myſteries of our Holy Religion, and the Divinity of the Holy Scripture, upon none other Ground than becauſe all that was believ'd by them that went before us, or upon the Authority of the Church, or of other Leaders, that they have not profited little by *Cotta*'s Inſtructions. But are you not grieved to ſee the Truths of *Chriſtianity* treated at no better Rate than were the Fables of the *Heatheniſh* Worſhip. Do you not Judge then, that theſe, who ſo plainly declare that they ſtand to *Chriſt*'s Religion only upon Men's Authority, have not in their Hearts better Notions of it than *Cotta* had of that of his falſe Gods: It is apparent enough, that they who ſo highly aſſert their Authority, of being the only Guides in Matters of

Religion, have the ſame Deſign with the High-Prieſt, in *Cicero*'s Time. This is the only thing they aim at, to Maintain the ignorant People in their Opinion, and in the Practice of thoſe Ceremonies already receiv'd, but never to permit them to examine the Doctrine, enquire after the Truth, and reform and rectify their Sentiments. *Socrates* was put to Death for offering at it, and the Maxim that caus'd it did not die with him ; *Plato* profited by his Example, and taught *Cotta* what we have heard of him : for he ſpeaks thus, *lib. legum* 11. "I have ſaid that "the Souls of the Dead have ſome "Power, whereby they take care of "humane Affairs; that is true, and "much might be ſaid on that Subject: "wherefore, unleſs Men were out of "their Senſes, they muſt believe upon "the Account of the Ancients and "commonly receiv'd Tradition, and "the Authority of the Law-givers that "have ordained it.

Of the Worſhip both of the Gods and Dæmons.

SINCE we are entred upon the Subject of *Dæmons* become Gods, we muſt not leave it without ſome Reflections upon what *Plutarch* ſays, *That their Worſhip was a mixt Worſhip of that of the Gods, and of that of Dæmons*: which clearly diſcovers that there was a Difference, at leaſt, according to the Philoſophers Opinion, betwixt the Worſhip peculiar to the celeſtial Gods, and that which belonged to *Dæmons*; as indeed *Triſmegiſtus*, ſo often quoted by St. *Auſtin*, ſaith in *Aſclepio*, " That " Heaven and the celeſtial Gods were " pleas'd in receiving the Admirations, " Praiſes, and Obedience of Men; where- " upon he makes a large Commentary, " and then ends with theſe Words. " To Honour the Divinity with Sim-

" plicity

" plicity of Spirit, and a pure Heart;
" to reverence his Works, and give
" Thanks to his Will, which alone is
" good; this is true Philoſophy, which
" is polluted by no troubleſome Cu-
" rioſity." At the latter end he falls to Prayer, and *Aſclepius* having whiſper'd to him, that to his Prayers ſhould be added offering of Incenſe and other Perfumes, he grows angry, and anſwers thus, " *Aſclepius*, you ought to have
" better Thoughts; it is a kind of Sa-
" criledge to offer Incenſe to any thing
" elſe but God; when we pray, no-
" thing is wanting to him, who him-
" ſelf is all Things; but we worſhip by
" giving of Thanks; the high Incenſe
" which God requires is, that Men ſhould
" give him Thanks." I think to ſee by this, the Difference betwixt the Worſhip of the Gods and that of *Dæmons*; which muſt be this, That the Worſhip of the Gods muſt be ſpiritual, and conſiſted in holy Meditations, the Affection of the Heart, giving of Thanks, and Obedience; and that of *Dæmons*, was all that Pomp of Ceremonies, and offering

fering of Sacrifices: As indeed as to Temples, *Triſmegiſtus* ſaith "That as "the Supreme God, the Lord and "Father, hath made the celeſtial "Gods; ſo Man hath made the Gods "that are in Churches. And what follows clearly ſhews, that his Notion was, that the Gods made by Men, were truly Gods, made up (ſaith he) *of the Divine Nature, and of the Matter that was found among Men.* It is true as it is added, *that Men cannot create Souls, but they call in the Souls of Dæmons, or of Angels.* *Apuleius* ſpeaking of Dæmons of the ſecond Order, which had been Men, ſaith likewiſe, "That they "were called Gods, who having led a "wiſe and juſt Courſe of Life, were "honoured by Men, who conſecrated "Temples unto them, and appointed "Ceremonies for their Worſhip, and "by theſe own'd them for Divinities. Wherefore it is manifeſt, that Philoſophers believed that Churches were conſecrated only to Dæmons that had been Men. They had the ſame Notion of Images, *Triſmegiſtus* ſaith, *That*

Men

Men having invented the Art of making Gods, did call in Invocation the Souls of Dæmons, to put them into those holy Imagies, and that by this Means the Idols, Idola, have Power to do Good or Evil.

Note that in this Place, Idol and Image are the ſame thing. As for the Sacrifices and Ceremonies, we have ſeen that *Apuleius* reckons them among the Honours rendred to Dæmons of the ſecond Order, that is, which had been Men. He doth not tell us with what Form of Worſhip the others muſt be ſerved, tho' he declares that they are religiouſly to be honour'd. Hear how how he ſpeaks of what is due to the Celeſtial Gods and to Dæmons; "All the Celeſtial Gods do always enjoy the ſame eternal Equality, the "ſame Temper of Spirit, which never "exceeds its Bounds, either towards "Grief or Pleaſure: God cannot be "ſubject to any Commotion, either of "Action or of Love; he can neither "be tranſported with Anger, nor "moved with Pity; he is freed from "all Paſſions, he can neither mourn

"nor

" nor rejoyce, *&c.* But all theſe, and all " things of this kind belong to Dæ- " mons, who are in a middle Ele- " vation; they are as we, capable of " being provok'd and appeas'd; they " can be angry and compaſſionate; Men " may obtain their Favour by Offerings, " ſoften them by Prayers, and provoke " them by Injuries, *&c.* And for this " Reaſon, we are to receive with Faith " the divers Obſervations of Religion, " the Devotions of ſacred Ceremonies " and Sacrifices. The Meaning is, that if Men had reſpect only to the Ce- leſtial Gods, who can be ſenſible of nothing, there would be no need of all the Ceremonies of Religion; they ſhould be honour'd, according to *Triſmegiſtus*'s Opinion, by pure Obedience and Thankſ- giving: But that by reaſon of the Varie- ty, which the Dæmons are capable of, all thoſe Religious Ceremonies muſt be obſerved, whereby Men do endeavour, either to appeaſe them, or to get Fa- vours from them. Whereupon it ſhould be noted, that the Celeſtial Gods, who were Dæmons before, having not quite

put off their Nature and former Affections, were, according to *Plutarch*'s Opinion, to be ſerved both as Gods and as Dæmons, that is with a mixt Worſhip, honouring them with Hymns and Praiſes, as *Plato* teaches; it is likewiſe requiſite to build them Temples, to offer Sacrifices to them to pleaſe them, to keep cloſe to the Ceremonial Obſervations of Religion, as it is practiſed in the Worſhip of Dæmons. Seeing therefore, that the Multitude of Gods which the Heathen worſhip'd in their Images, with Sacrifices and other Religious Services, were either Dæmons Mediators, or Dæmons raiſed up to Heaven, and all ſuch Gods as had been Men, as appears, by the Hiſtories of their Lives, and of their Tranſlations: It follows, that all the Religion of the Heathen conſiſted in the Worſhip of Dead Men; and that St. *Paul* was in the right when he ſaid, That what the Heathen offered, they offered it to *Dæmons*; for thus it ſhould be tranſlated, and not to *Devils*.

Of that Place of Scripture, 1 Cor. x. 20. *What the Heathen offer, they offer it to Devils.*

THIS place of Holy Writ, being ill tranſlated in our vulgar Tongue, ſhould be here well reflected upon, Ἃ θύει τὰ ἔθνη Δαιμονίοις θύει ἃ τῶ Θεῶ, for it ſhould be rendred, *to Dæmons, not to Devils*; for the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the Object of the Heatheniſh Worſhip, and according to the Notions of the Heathen, ſince he gives it the ſame Name which they did, this is very remarkable: If Reflection be made upon the Hebrew Word, which the *Septuagint* have tranſlated *Dæmons*, for the Words of St. *Paul*, in this Place, do allude to thoſe, *Deut.* 32. 17. where *Moſes* ſpeaking of the Sacrifices

which the Children of *Iſrael* offer'd to the Gods of *Moab* and of *Midian*, ſaith (according to the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint* of the *Vulgate*, and of *Tremelius*) *They offered to Dæmons, not to Gods*: We tranſlated, *They offered to Idols that are no Gods*. The Tranſlation of the Seventy, which St. *Paul* follow'd, doth Anſwer the Hebrew Text, better than the other: *Sched*, which both the Seventy and St. *Paul*, have tranſlated *Dæmons*, hath great Affinity with the Word *Scaddai*, one of the Names which the holy Language gives to God alone, to ſignify that God alone is ſufficient to Himſelf, and to all Things beſides. The *Septuagint* have tranſlated *Sched* twenty Times by the Word *Vaſos*, which ſignifies a Woman's Breſt that affords ſufficient Nouriſhment for young Children; but they have reder'd it but twice by the word *Dæmons*, *viz. Deut.* 32. 17. and *Pſ.* 106. 37. the only Places wherein it is uſed to ſignify a Form of unlawful Worſhip. My Obſervation is this, that the word *Sched* anſwers well to that of *Dæmon*, which without doubt was an Honourable

ble Name given to the Object of religious Worſhip by the Neighbouring Nations, and particularly the *Midianitas*, whoſe Language had much Affinity with the *Hebrew*, as the *Grecians* gave the Name of *Dæmons* to them, whom they moſt conſtantly ador'd. What I infer from it is, that it clearly appears that the Apoſtle doth here ſet forth the Doctrine of the Heathen, according to their own Notions, and the Confeſſions of their wiſeſt Philoſophers, viz. that *what they offered, they offered it to Dæmons*; and withal to teach Chriſtians, who were not Ignorant what Things God had formerly condemned, and might very well be ſenſible of the Strength of his Alluſion, that ſuch Worſhip could but be very diſpleaſing to God: whence it follows, that they were by no Means to partake of the Heatheniſh Sacrifices, ſince by the Confeſſion of thoſe that offer'd them, they were offered to *Dæmons*, and were the ſame Things which the Children of *Iſrael* having ſacrificed unto, under ſuch Name as was not leſs Honourable than that

of

of *Dæmons*, had notwithſtanding highly provoked God. By this St. *Paul* hath taught us theſe two Things in general, 1. That the Heathen committed Sin in offering Sacrifices to any but God. 2. That Chriſtians ſhould have nothing to do with any religious Worſhip, which does not directly and immediately relate to God, and to him alone; notwithſtanding all the Reaſons which Men may pretend to the contrary, and the fine Names they will give to thoſe Objects which they worſhip after this manner

Of the firſt Commandment of the Law.

THE foregoing Doctrine is taught us by the firſt Commandment of the Law; *Thou ſhall have none other God, or Gods before, or upon my Face.* Two things ſhould here be taken notice of 1. That

That tho' there is no other God but one, and that an Idol is nothing in World; yet whatſoever Men ſet up as an Object of religious Worſhip, is termed God in holy Scripture, becauſe it is ſubſtituted and placed in the room of the true and only God, who ought to be the ſole Object of Religion. 2. The other is, that in this Precept God ſpeaks to Men that own him as God, and profeſs to worſhip him: He doth not forbid they ſhould deny him, that they ſhould go and ſerve other Gods; but he forbids particularly, they ſhould ſerve any other in his Preſence, or with him; thoſe that are guilty of the former do caſt God behind their Backs, *Rom.* 14. 9. but they that commit the the latter Crime, do ſtill pretend to ſtand in God's Preſence; their Sin is, that they will have other Objects of their Devotion, before, beſides and with him, *Ezek.* 23, &c. The Terms of the Commandment ſeems to point at thoſe who place certain Objects of their Devotion betwixt God and themſelves, and as before, or upon God's

Face

Face, to cover the dreadful Majeſty thereof, that they may approach it with leſs Fear. It may be ſaid here, that as under the Law the Face of God was the Ark towards which they worſhip'd, was the only Symbole of God's Preſence, and as a Means to draw near unto him: and that as under the Law God would not that his People ſhould have any other Object of their Devotion, but Himſelf, who ſpake to them out of the Ark, nor contrive any other Way of drawing nigh to him, nor fancy any other Token of his Preſence with them: So under the Goſpel he will have no Chriſtians to acknowledge none other Object of their religious Services, than the God who manifeſted himſelf in *Jeſus Chriſt*, the only Mediator betwixt God and Men, nor ſeek after any other Means of obtaining his Grace and Favours, than the ſame *Jeſus Chriſt*. Diſobedience to this Law, is the Error which St. *Paul* propheſied ſhould prove the great Unhappineſs of the Chriſtian Church, when he ſaith, *That ſome ſhall fall away from the Faith, giving up themſelves to ſeducing Spirits and Doctrines of Dæmons.* Of

Of the Words Dæmon *and* Devil, *and of the remarkable Difference betwixt thoſe two Names; and of Sepulchres and Relicks.*

WHY is it ſay'd that the Name of *Dæmon* is leſs fearful than that of *Devil*, ſeeing that Mr. *Daille* obſerves, that it is always uſed to ſignify an evil Thing in the Tranſlation of the Septuagints; and that in the Book of the *Acts* it is uſed otherwiſe but in one Place, and that with reſpect to the wrong Judgment which the Heathen made of it? To this will be anſwer'd, that the Word *Dæmon* hath always formed in the Mind of Chriſtians the Idea of an Evil Thing, as repreſenting to them either the Object of abominable

Idolatry, or thoſe Evil Spirits that are conſtantly called by this Name, as *Origen* obſerves, *Lib.* 5. *ag. Celſus.* It ſignifies always the one or the other of theſe Things in the New Teſtament, even *Acts* 17. 18. In the Tranſlation of the Seventy, it is uſed ſix or ſeven times to the ſame Purpoſe: we have already ſeen two Places where it expounds a Word ſignifying a forbidden Worſhip, *Pſ.* 96. 5. It ſhews the Signification of the Word *Elilim*, which we tranſlate *Idols*, and *Iſa.* 56. 11. to expound the Word *Gad*, which we tender the Hoſt of Heaven; in both which Places, mention is made of falſe Divinities. Beſide theſe, the Seventy likewiſe uſed the Word *Dæmon*, to explain the *Hebrew* Word *Sehhirim*, *Iſa.* 13. 21. which we tranſlate *Bugbears*, and it ſignifies a kind of Wild Beaſt or Night Bird, apt to fright Folks, and which were to ſhelter themſelves in the Ruins of *Babylon*, after it was deſtroy'd; and *Iſa.* 34. 14. to expound the Word *Tſijim*, which ſignifies the Wild Beaſts which were to repair to the Ruins of *Boſra*. The

moſt

moſt conſtant Uſe of the Word *Dæmon*, hath been to repreſent thoſe Animals of a Middle Nature, betwixt God and Man, which we call *Anels*, and were ſo named by the Heathen themſelves in *Aſclepio*. Chriſtians have called Evil Angels *Dæmons*, and to the good they have given the Name of *Angels* only. Thoſe among the Heathen, who acknowledged Evil *Dæmons*, called themſelves *Cacodaimonas*, and miſchievous Angels; but with them the Name of *Dæmon* was conſtantly an honourable Name, which they gave to the Nobleſt Objects of their religious Worſhip: whenſoever the Scripture makes uſe of it to expreſs an *Object* of Religion, it always intimates a falſe Object, and Chriſtians look upon it with Abhorrence; but the Heathen notwithſtanding, have taken this Name, in their Senſe, for the Name of a Thing worthy of their Veneration, ſo that when in Scripture it ſignifies an Object of Adoration, it is taken in *bonum partem*, for a Venerable Name, with reſpect to the Judgment that the Heathen

made of it; but it ſounds ill in the Ears of Chriſtians. It is not only *Acts* 17. that it is uſed to ſignify a good Thing, but alſo 1 *Cor.* 10. and it cannot be taken in another, *Rev.* 9. 20. according to the Notion of the Worſhippers there ſpoken of, tho' we tranſlate it by the Word *Devils*, according to our Notion. I ſay therefore, that the Word *Dæmon* doth repreſent to Chriſtians none but odious Objects; yet it could not, at leaſt in St. *Paul*'s Time, inſpire ſo great an Horror as that of *Devils*; for, obſerve in the firſt Place, that in the Greek Tongue, then ſpoken every where, and underſtood by every Body, the Word *Dæmon* ſignifies *Learned*, whereas *Devil* ſignifies a *falſe Accuſer*. Secondly, none ever imagined that the Word *Devil* ſignified any thing that was good: but the Name *Dæmon* was eſteem'd by moſt as very Venerable; in a conſtant Converſation among Men; and uſing, as they do, ſome Words which they diſlike not, leſſens very much the Averſion we might otherwiſe have for them, tho' at this time we do not

diſtinguiſh them, and we look upon the Names of *Devils* and *Dæmons* to be *Synonymous*, tho' the one comes out eaſier than the other: we obſerve likewiſe in reading the Holy Scripture, that the Word *Devil* is always without any Title or Adjunct, which can intimate any difference between the Things to which this Name is given; but the Name *Dæmon* is ſometimes uſed with Diſtinction, which implies that this Name may be given as well to good as to Evil Things, as *Luke* 4. 33. The Spirit of an unclean *Dæmon*, or as it is in ſome Copies, An impure *Dæmon*.

Two notable Differences there are betwixt theſe two, firſt that the Holy Scripture applies the Word *Dæmon* both in the Singular and in the Plural Number, to the ſame Things: But tho' the Word *Devils* is three times uſed in the Plural Number, to ſignify ſuch Perſons as are given to ſlandering, yet never but in the Singular to ſignify the Evil Spirit: This ſhews that the Scripture will not confound theſe two Names

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as we do, and the Things which are repreſented by them. The firſt Place where we meet with the Word διάβολος, *Devil*, according to the *Septuagint's* Tranſlation, is in the beginning of the Book of *Job*, where we find it twelve times in two Chapters, and always to expound the Word *Satan*, which is the Name of that wicked Spirit that ſlander'd *Job*, and would deſtroy him. The firſt place in the New Teſtament is in St. *Matthew*, when he tempted our *Saviour*; St. *Luke* calls the Tempter the *Devil*; and St. *Mark* names him *Satan*; which clearly ſhews that he who tempted *Chriſt*, is the ſame that accuſed *Job*. The ſame doubtleſs who deſired to ſift the Apoſtles as Wheat, who inſpir'd *Judas* to be a Traitor, that filled *Ananias* and *Sapphirah's* Heart, this is the great *Dragon*, the old *Serpent*, called the *Devil*; and *Satan* the Accuſer of the *Brethren*, the ſame that ſeduced *Eve*: the ſame *Satan* in *Hebrew*, and *Devil* according to the Seventy, who withſtood the High-Prieſt *Jehoſhuah*, and who is repreſented contending for the Body

of

of *Moſes*, *Jude.* 9. from whoſe Power Men are delivered by the Preaching of the *Goſpel*; in one Word, who had the Empire of Death, and whom *Chriſt* hath overcome by his Death. This Word διαβολος is not found in the *Greek Heatheniſh* Authors to ſignify a *Spirit*, or any other particular Thing: And I do not think that the Heathen knew this great Accuſer, Adverſary, and general Enemy of Mankind, which we call the *Devil*: They that believ'd wicked *Dæmons*, never gave them this Name, neither was it given to that evil God, the Author of all Evil, whom ſome, tho' but few, did affirm to ſtand in oppoſition to the Almighty and good God, but whom they never look'd upon as an *envious*, *jealous Spirit*, to accuſe Men before God, and endeavouring by all manner of Ways and Means to deſtroy them. We have no Knowledge of this *Spirit* called the *Devil*, and *Satan*, but by the Revelation of God's Word: it ſhould be obſerv'd therefore, that the Holy-Scripture ſpeaking of *Dæmons*, that were the Object of the Heatheniſh

Worſhip,

Worſhip, names them often in the Plural Number, according to the Notions of thoſe Idolatrous Nations, but never of the *Devil*, or *Satan*, the true Cauſe of Man's Fall; but as of one to whom is attributed the Seduction of the World, and of the Nations, the Original of Mens Inclinations to do Evil, and oppoſing God's Grace and Man's Happineſs.

The ſecond Difference to be taken notice of is, that the Scripture never gives the Name of *Dæmon* to any living Man, but that of *Devil*, and *Satan* to ſeveral, as to *Hadad*, 1 *Kings* 1. 14. to *Rezon*, Ver. 23. 25. to St. *Peter*, *Matt.* 16. 23. in the ſame Senſe that *David* called *Abiſcai* by the ſame Name, 2 *Sam.* 19. 22. theſe Men are called *Satan*, the Name of the moſt fearful and cruel Enemy and Adverſary of Mankind to expreſs the greatneſs of the Injury they offered by their Oppoſitions and Contradictions. In St. *John* 6. 70. it is ſaid of *Judas*, that he was a *Devil*,

in

in the ſame Senſe that this Name is given to *Hammon* by the *Septuagint*, *Heſt.* 17. 4. and *chap.* 3. *ver.* 1. where we find the *Hebrew* Word *Iſar*, which ſignifies a violent Oppreſſor: the Reaſon of this is, that the *Devil* or *Satan* is a real and true Being, and moſt wicked of all Creatures; and the Holy Scripture will have us to underſtand that all thoſe are like him to whom it gives this Name; whereas the *Dæmons*, honour'd by the Heathen, have no real Exiſtence, and the Holy Ghoſt would not give the Names of Things that have no Being but in Imagination, to thoſe Perſons whoſe real Qualities were to be declar'd and ſet forth.

I conceive, that it will be objected, that the *Dæmons* of the Heathen were real Things, ſince what was worſhiped under that Name, were the Souls of dead Men, and that ſome did alſo underſtand by the ſame Name, them th at we call *Agels*. To this I anſwer that both Angels and the Souls of dead Men, are indeed real in themſelves, but

as to that Mediation, the Knowledge of Human Affairs; the Power of commanding, of defending, of communicating good thins *&c.* and above all, that adorable *Divinity* attributed to them by their Worſhippers, they were nothing in truth. St. *Paul* ſaith it expreſly, 1. *Cor.* 8 4. and *Chap.* 10. 19. I know that he ſpeaks there of Idols, that is, of Images conſecreated in the Heathens *Temples*, for this is the Meaning of the Word *Idol*, even in *Apuleius* in *Aſclepieo.* But the *Apoſtle* doth not conſider thoſe Images in themſelves, that either in their Matter or Form, for that was ſomething, but with reſpect to what they were in the Imagination of *Idoliters*, who believed that they repreſented ſo many Divinities; that they were not ſimple Statues, but Images full of *Spirit*, that wrought Wonders, and knew Things to come, did foretell them by Dreams or otherwiſe, and cauſed Diſeaſes to fall upon Men, and cured them afterwards: Holy Images, into which Men having found the Art of making Gods, did introduce

the

the *Souls* of *Dæmons*, or Angels: in one Word *Idols*, Idola, which alone had the Power of doing Good or Evil. And do you not find here all that is ſaid now of the Images of *Lauretta*, and ſeveral other Places. With reſpect to this, St. *Paul* ſaith, that *the Idol is nothing in the World*; becauſe that what they would have it to be, is no more than the Vertue aſcribed to it; that there is no God; but One and what the *Gentiles* did offer, they offered it to *Dæmons*, not to God; and *Dæmons* where nothing but imaginary Divinities.

We gather from both theſe Differences, that tho' the Heatheniſh Opinion concerning *Dæmons*, and that which was to be in vogue among Chriſtians conformably thereunto, had the *Devil* for their Author; yet in that Place St. *Paul*'s Meaning is not that they were Doctrines of *Satan*, or of the *Devil*, of whom he makes no mention, nor Doctrines inſpired by *Devils*: there being but one only *Devil*, whom the *Apoſtle*

would have named in the Singular Number, ſince he is never ſpoken of otherwiſe in the whole Bible; nor yet Doctrines ſuggeſted by *Dæmons*, which were nothing: But that they were Opinions which Men would hold concerning the Worſhip of Dead Men, anſwerable to them which the Heathen had conceived of their *Dæmons*. Many Chriſtans, ſaith *Vives* upon *chap.* 27. of *lib.* 8. St. *Auſt. De Civit. D.* "Do Evil "in a thing that ſhould be Good; they "Honour the Saints, both Men and "Women, after the ſame manner that "they ſerve God: and I perceive not "what may be the Difference in many "things betwixt the Opinion they have "of the Saints, and what the *Gen-* "*tiles* thought of their Gods.

As touching the Offices attributed to *Dæmons*, I will tell you that they are ſet forth by *Plato*, *Apuleius*, *Plutarch* and *Celſus*, in the forenamed Places, and that all theſe Authors do add here to the Teſtimonies of *Heſiodus* in his Poem, whoſe Title is, *Of the Works of Days.*

Days. Plato, in *lib. Legum* 11. aſcribes to *Vulcan* and *Pallas*, the Protection of the Workmen who labour'd in Things pertaining to Life; to *Mars* and *Pallas* that of Smiths, who made offenſive and defenſive Weapons, and ſays that one God is over one thing, and another over another thing. See *Arnobius*, *lib.* 3. *Voſſius de Idol. Gentium*, *lib.* 1. *c.* 7. The Veneration of *Sepulchres* and *Relicks* is allow'd in the Heatheniſh Authors; you will find it particularly in *lib.* 5. of *Plato*'s *Reſp.* and in *Cicer. lib.* 2. *Legum.* You may read upon this Subject the ſixth Book of *Arnobius.*

That there is but one Devil, *or* Satan; *and of the Angels ſpoken of,* Rev. ix. 11. xii. 7. 2 Cor. xii. 7. Jud. *v.* 6. 2 Pet. ii. 4.

That there is but one Devil, ſeems to be both a bold and falſe Aſſertion, ſince Scripture ſpeaks of ſeveral Angels that ſinned in the beginning, and of Angels of *Satan*; yet the Scripture that tells us that there is a *Devil*, or *Satan*, never ſpeaks but of one only, to whom it aſcribes the Seduction of Man, and all the Malignity tending to his Deſtruction. I know that the contrary Opinion is the moſt common among

mong Chriſtians, and I do not look upon it as dangerous to condemn them that hold it; but I ſay, that it doth not ſeem to have any Fondation in God's Word; and I believe, they have it from ſome other Place.

We have ſeen that among the Heathen ſome believed that there were wicked *Dæmons*, whom they called *Cacodæmons*, and miſchievous *Angels*: the ſame Opinion was among the *Jews*, after they were divided into ſeveral Sects. The *Sadduces* believed neither Reſurrection, nor Angels, nor Spirits: But the *Phariſees*, who had better Credit with the People, and who did all that they could, to deſtroy the *Sadduces*, did omit nothing to eſtabliſh the Opinion of Spirits; they follow'd the Notions of the Heathen concerning *Dæmons*, and called *Dæmon* and *Spirit*, every thing that diſturbed Men in any extrordinary Manner: The ſame Notion is crept in alſo among Chriſtians; and it is commonly believed, that *Satan* was an *Angel of Light*, the chief and head of many others,

others, whom he drew with him into the ſame Rebellion, and doth ſtill act againſt Man by his Order. But where is it ſaid in Scripture, *that Satan was an Angel, that he was the head of Angels, and his Troop follow'd him in his Rebellion?* It may be they will quote that Place, *Rev.* 9. 11. where St. *John* ſpeaks of the *Angel of the Bottomleſs Pit.* But beſides that, this Book contains Propheſies, on which no certain Principle can be grounded. St. *John* ſufficiently diſcovers in the firſt Chapters, that by the Word *Angels* he underſtandeth *Men ſent*; and according to his Interpretation, I believe that this *Angel* of the *Abyſs*, called in Hebrew *Abbadon*, and in Greek *Appollyon*, is a Man whom God hath ſent in his Anger to confound and deſtroy Men. If we conſider well the *Locuſts*, whereof this Angel of the *Abyſs* is the King, we ſhall perceive without much to do, that it is a Man who is the Head of Men, come from the Depth of Error and Confuſion, to torment other Men after a cruel manner; and I know none with whom this

agrees

agrees better than the Head of the Fryars, and of the Inquiſition. The Angels of the Dragon who fought with him againſt *Michael* and his Angels, *Rev.* 12. 7. are alſo Men: the Miniſters of *Satan* that ſeduce and torment the World, they fight againſt *Jeſus Chriſt* the Head of the Church, and againſt his Miniſters, and the eternal Fire is prepared for them, as well as for him that ſent them, *Mat.* 25. 4. That Angel of *Satan* who troubled St. *Paul*, was a falſe Teacher, an Apoſtate that ſtuck cloſe to him, to keep him from reſt; I believe it was *Alexander the Copper-ſmith, who had done him much Evil*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 20.

It will be alledged further, that St. *Jude ver.* 6. ſpeaks of thoſe Angels who kept not their Eſtate, as we render it: But you cannot find there that Multitude of Spirits commanded by *Satan*, and Partakers of his Rebellion; nothing but Prejudice can there *find Angels, who never were Angels.* The Holy Ghoſt, who never gives but fit and proper Names, doth never call *Angels*, but ſuch as were ſent upon ſome Errand or other.

The Spirits ſuppoſed to have follow'd Satan in his Revoult from the beginning of the World, had not yet been ſent of God; and if St. *Jude* meant it of them, he repreſents them bound with Chains from that time, ſo that they could not never ſince be either Angels or Meſſengers. If you read the Apoſtle's Diſcourſe without Prevention, you will find that the common Explication doth not allow him a very exact Way of Reaſoning; his Deſign is to perſwade Chriſtians to maintain conſtantly the Good Fight of Faith, and not ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by the Examples of thoſe, who turning the Grace of God, into Wantonneſs, have renounced the only Lord Jeſus Chriſt our God and Saviour; and his Argument to this Purpoſe is the Fear of God's Judgments, whereof he mentions here three notable Examples. 1. That of the Children of *Iſrael*, who after their Deliverance from *Egypt* believ'd not, and where deſtroy'd; this was known by the Hiſtory. 2. The Hiſtory of the Rebellion that appear'd

after

after the Return of them that were ſent to ſpy the Land of *Canan*. 3. Here is ſet down for a third Example, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, whereof likewiſe the Hiſtory was well known, and often ſpoken of by the Prophets: for the ſecond is reckoned the Puniſhment of thoſe Angels that rebell'd with Satan in the beginning of the World, and who are reſerved under Darkneſs, in Bonds, of which no mention is made in any Part of the Scriptures; and that Example, till then unknown, was no ſtrong Argument, to ſtir up the Spirits, neither could it be conveniently joined with the reſt. Let no Body alledge here Tradition, or ſome Book that is loſt; for beſides that, what depends upon Tradition, and may be ſaid of the laſt Books, is very uncertain; it is unlikely that St. *Jude* would have placed betwixt two Examples, ſo well known by the holy Hiſtory, another Example, whereof no mention at all is made in the ſacred Oracles committed to the *Jews*, and faithfully preſerved by them. Let me ask here,

What obliged Interpreters to tranſlate the Word ἀρχὴν, by this firſt *Eſtate*, or Original ? except it was the Deſire of finding here, that Fall of many Angels or Spirits, which is found no where elſe, and whereof Men are ſo eaſily perſwaded, I know not how nor wherefore. The *Vulgate* tranſlates *Principalities*, which doth not agree very well with a Troop of Spirits under the command of a Head. If you mark well the Context, and the Terms which the Apoſtle makes uſe of, you will eaſily diſcover here the Men ſent to view the Land of *Canan*, *Numb.* 13. 3. who were the Chief of every Tribe, and heads of the Children, Ἀρχηγοὶ, and who did not obſerve on that Occaſion, what was becoming that Rank and Dignity they were in among their People; therefore they loſt it with their Lives, *Numb.* 14. 37. St. *Jude* charges them with a double Crime, That they upheld, or maintained not their Dignity, that is they ſhew'd not that Courage and Reſolution which became the Heads

of

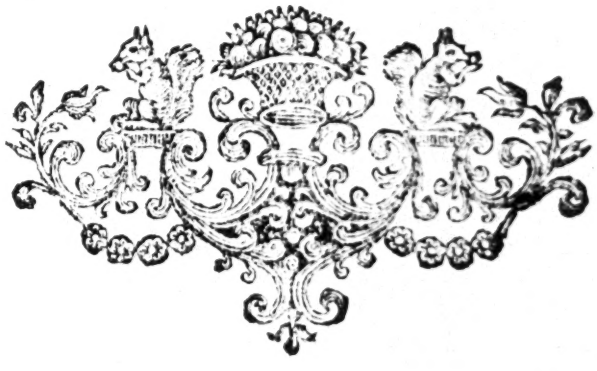
of the People, and then to have left (Ἀπολίπουσι τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον,) their Habitation, or the Country that belonged to them; that is they renounced it, they gave over the Deſign of entring into it: This marks exactly the Perſons I am ſpeaking of.

Theſe may alſo be diſcover'd in 2 *Peter* 2. 4. there it is ſaid, That God ſpar'd not the Angels that ſinned; for theſe Words, *that ſinned*, do directly point at thoſe of St. *Paul. Heb.* 3. 17. *Who ſinned, and whoſe Carcaſſes fell in the Wilderneſs, and to whom the Lord ſwore, that they ſhould not enter into his Reſt.* Theſe are the very Men who rebell'd, when they were upon the Point of entring into that Land which had been ſpied out for them immediatly before. It is true, that what St. *Peter* ſaith may be applied to all thoſe, who being ſent by God, do rebel againſt his Commandment; but there is not in the Scripture any Example ſo remarkable of a Rebellion of Men ſent of God, as of theſe that were

were ſent to ſpy the Land of *Canan*. This Rebellion did highly provoke God, ſince he puniſhed it with the greateſt Severity.

You will ask perhaps, Whether Men ſent by Men may be called *Angels?* which Title ſeems to belong only to God's Meſſengers. I anſwer, that thoſe who were ſent to ſpy the Land, were ſent by God, ſince they were ſent by his Orders, who had marked their very Perſons, *Numb.* 13. 3. I muſt add, that beſides the frequent Uſe of this Word *Angel* in profane Authors, there is nothing more uſual in the Greek Tranſlation of the old Teſtament than this Word, to ſignify *Meſſengers ſent by Men.* Thus were they call'd, whom *Jacob* ſent to his Brother *Eſau*, *Gen.* 32. 3. So were they, whom *Moſes* ſent to the King of *Edom*, *Numb.* 20. 4. Thoſe of *Joſhua* in the Tent of *Achan*, *Joſh.* 7. 2. Thoſe of *Gideon* to *Ephriam*, *Judges* 7. 24. This Expreſſion is not unknown to the New Teſtament; you meet with it,

it, *Acts* 12. 15. *Jam.* 2. 25. where the two Men ſent by *Joſhua* to ſpy *Jerico*, are called *Angels.* After this you will not think it ſtrange that both St. *Peter* and St. *Jude* ſhould give the ſame Names to thoſe whom *Moſes* ſent to view the the Land of *Canan.*



Of the Dæmons or Spirits which our Saviour caſt out; and of the Spirits of Python.

IT is a notable Queſtion how thoſe Spirits may be called which poſſeſſed Men in the Days of Chriſt's Fleſh, and the Spirit of *Python:* Theſe ſhould by no means be called Devils, ſince the holy Scripture doth not call them ſo, and that it ſpeaks but of one Devil. But we may call that which tormented Men at that Time, *Dæmons* or Spirits, becauſe the Scripture doth often give them thoſe Names. I know that ſome will ſay, that if they were *Spirits* and *Dæmons*, they muſt be evil *Spirits* and evil *Dæmons*, and therefore they may be called *Devils*, who attended the Service of *Satan*, as Head of the

Evil

Evil *Spirits*, and ſo they may be call'd *Devils*: But let it be remember'd, that I have not defined what they were, but I have told you how I might call them, according to the Scripture, which ſpeaks Mens Language, and names Things as Men were wont to name them. God's Word doth readily call *Dæmons* the Objects of the Heathens Adoration, becauſe the Nations call'd them ſo, tho' thoſe Objects were but imaginary Things. The Scripture calls *Bahal*, that is, *Lord and Maſter*, that Idol whoſe Worſhip was introduced in *Iſrael* in the Days of King *Ahab*, becauſe the Worſhippers of it termed it ſo; tho' it was nothing in the World, no more than *Dæmons* were: And ſo, becauſe the Names of *Dæmons* and *Spirits* were commonly given to thoſe Things which vexed and diſturb'd Men, the Holy Scripture doth without Difficulty give them the ſame Names *(a)*. There was nothing more common among the *Jews*, than to a-

(a) Lightfoot on *Matt.* 17. 15. doth prove this by ſeveral Paſſages of the *Rabies*.

ſcribe to *evil Spirits* the moſt troubleſome Evils, eſpecially thoſe whereby the *Body* was tortur'd with Violence, and the *Spirit* agitated with Phrenſies: "The Madmen, ſaith *Vives*, and the "Furious, were called *Dæmons* by the "*Gentiles*; and the Paſſions wherewith "we are tranſported, are called *Dæmons*, "by ſeveral *Platonicans*." I may ſay therefore that thoſe *Spirits* or *Dæmons*, from which *Chriſt* delivered Men, were *Phrenſy*, *Epilepſy*, *Madneſs*, *Lunacy*, *Melancholy*, and the like; yea, perhaps but an *extraordinary Fever*; for all theſe were *Dæmons* and *Divinities* among the Heathen (*b*). They were not ſuch in Truth; but, as I have noted, the Scripture ſpeaks with the *Vulgar*, and doth not name Things otherwiſe than they were wont to be named: But if we take Notice of ſeveral Things to which the Scripture giveth the Name of *Spirit*, it will appear, that they were only the Humours and Affections whereby Men are proved

(*a*) Lib. 8. de Civit. Dei. c. 14. lib. 9. c. 11.

to

to be of such Temper and (*a*) Disposition. That other Spirit which guided *Caleb*, *Numb.* 14. 24. was nothing else but his *Faith* and *Courage* opposed to the *Incredulity* and *Cowardliness* of his Companions. That Spirit which made *Sennacherib* to return into his Country, was the Fear that seiz'd on him at the Sight of the dead Bodies that were slain in his Camp by the Angel. That *new Heart* and *new Spirit* that God commanded his People should have, *Ezek.* 8. 31. are certainly *new Sentiments* and *new Affections*. The *Spirit of Fornication*, spoken of by the Prophet, *Hosea* 4. 12. is the *Passion* of that *Vice*. When our *Saviour* told the two Sons of *Zebedee*, *Luke* 9. 55. *Ye know not what Spirit they are of*; it was to let them understand *that they knew not the Nature of that Affection*, which made them speak as they did. That *Spirit* of *Slumber* spoken of *Isaiah* 29. 10. and *Rom.* 11. 8. is nothing else but that natural Stupidity to which God abandoneth Men,

(*b*) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 3. Arnobius lib. 8. Vossius de Idol. gent. l. 2, c. 19. lib. 8. c 5, 6 Natal. Comes lib. 4. c. 47.

in whom he will not ſhew the Power of his Grace. The *Spirit of Meekneſs*, 1 Cor. 4. 21. and the *Meekneſs* of Spirit are one and the ſame Thing. To *walk by the ſame Spirit*, 2 *Cor.* ch. 12. v. 8. is to act according to the Suggeſtions of the ſame Affection. What our Saviour ſaith, *Matt.* 12. 43. of the *unclean Spirit, who being gone out of his Houſe, and finding it ſwept and garniſhed, doth return with ſeven other Spirits worſe than himſelf*, is a Parable occaſion'd by the ordinary Way of Diſcourſe among the People, and which can by no Means be underſtood of that ſort of *Spirits* in queſtion; but is eaſily underſtood, without Violence offer'd to the Words of *Vice*, from which a Man guilty before hath abſtain'd for a Time, *but without the true Application of himſelf to Virtue*; ſo that the Affection of that Vice returning, holdeth the Place with greater Power and Empire than before; and proves them accompany'd with many others that will not fail to follow. St. *Peter* hath written a *Commentary* upon this Parable, 2 *Pet.* 2. 20. "That if "after having eſcaped the Pollutions of

"the

" the World, through the Knowledge " of the Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, if " they be again intangled and overcome, " the laſt State of ſuch is worſe than " the firſt." For what is ſaid, ſaith the Jeſuit *Maldonat*, *that he goeth and taketh to himſelf ſeven other Spirits worſe than himſelf*; that ſignifies nothing elſe than this, That if the honeſt Men do loſe their Honeſty, by deſpiſing the Divine Grace, they commonly become the worſt of Men; as if inſtead of one unclean Spirit that was in them before, ſeven more were come in.

All this being well conſider'd, none will think it a ſtrange Thing that Diſeaſes and corporal Affections, ſuch as I noted before, be called after the common Notion *Dæmons* and *Spirits*, yea unclean Spirits, evil and wicked Spirits, no more than to ſee the Name of wicked Spirit given to Jealouſy, *Numb.* 5. 14. To Infidelity, *Judg.* 9. 23. To Fury, which tormented *Saul* from Time to Time, and which was quieted by the Sound of Muſical

ſical Inſtruments, 1 *Sam.* 16. 14, 23. To the Diſtemper of the Woman that had been bound eighteen Years, *Luke* 13. 11. This Expoſition is ſo much the more probable, that the *Dæmoniacks* are named among the Diſeaſes which our Saviour cured: *They brought unto him* (ſaith St. *Matthew* 4. 24.) *all ſe that were ſick*, of divers Diſeaſes and Torments, as *Dæmoniacks*, *Lunaticks*, and *Paraliticks*, and he cured them all. By theſe Cures our Saviour juſtified, that he was the *Meſſiah* promiſed, and of whom theſe Things were propheſied. Therefore St. *John the Baptiſt* being in Priſon, and having ſent to him two of his Diſciples to ask him, whether he was indeed he that was come, or whether they ſhould look for another; he cured before them ſeveral Perſons of divers Diſeaſes and Plagues, and of *evil Spirits*, and gave Light to many that were blind, *Luke* 21. 22. After this he ſpake thus to them, *Go, and tell John what Things ye have ſeen and heard; the Blind ſee, the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleanſed, the Deaf hear, the Dead are raiſed up, and the Poor have the Goſpel preached*

preached unto them. To this End, that *John* ſhould make them underſtand, by the Conformity of what they had ſeen with the Prophecies, that he was truly the *Meſſiah* promiſed, *Iſa.* 35. 56. and Chap. 61. ver. 1, 2. here is to be noted, and not lightly, that though the poſſeſſed with *Dæmons* are mention'd among them that *John*'s Diſciples ſaw cured, yet they are not named in the Prophecy that went before; which ſhews that they muſt be comprehended under the Names of the Diſeaſes mention'd in that Prophecy, and that is but a new Name given, according to the *common Uſage* of that Time, to ſuch Diſtempers as the Prophets had named otherwiſe. For this ſhould be carefully remember'd, that it was not the Greatneſs of the Miracles which proved Chriſt to be the *Meſſiah*, but chiefly becauſe the Miracles which he did were the ſame that it was foretold he ſhould do: But we do not find that it was propheſy'd that he ſhould caſt out *Dæmons* or *Spirits* out of Mens Bodies, but that he ſhould cure all Manner of Diſeaſes; which makes

makes it plain, that theſe *Dæmons* or *Spirits*, from which he deliver'd Men, were Diſeaſes : And indeed *Lunacy*, or *Epilepſy*, whoſe Fits do follow the Courſe of the Moon ; and ſuch as tormented the Child, *Matt.* 17. 15. are natural Diſtempers, and yet it is ſaid, that when Chriſt cur'd him, he rebuked the *Dæmon* which went out, and he was healed, ver. 18. and was not the *Dæmon* and the Sickneſs the ſame Thing? and it is ſaid, that he rebuked the *Dæmon* in the ſame Senſe that he rebuked the Fever that afflicted St. *Peter*'s Mother-in-law, *Luke* 4. 30. We find in other Places, *that they were amazed to ſee how he commanded with Authority and Power the unclean Spirits, and they went forth*; that is in the ſame Senſe, that after having ſaid rebuked the Wind and the Sea, *be thou ſtill*, they ſaid one to another, *Who is that? even the Wind and the Sea do obey him.*

Thoſe Diſtempers, that were called *Dæmons* and *Spirits*, were ſuch as diſtracted Mens Minds, and obſtructed their Senſes, and by Conſequence diſcover'd

cover'd another Spirit, than that they had, or ſhould have, or a quite contrary Diſpoſition. As I know at this Time a Gentleman very exemplary for his Piety, Modeſty, and an unblameable Behaviour with all Men: yet in the Fits of a Diſtemper which has ſeiz'd upon him but ſince three or four Years, among other Extravagancies, he ſeldom utters one Word but you would think that the unclean Spirits of the World have all taken Poſſeſſion of this Man. Therefore the *Jews* expreſſed that Extravagancy wherewith they charged our bleſſed Saviour, and were not contented to ſay that he was out of his Senſes, but that he was, or were poſſeſs'd with a *Dæmon*, *Joh.* 12. 20. and thus they explain themſelves afterwards, ſaying that he was beſides himſelf. Δαιμόνιον ἔχει καὶ μαίνεται. In this Sence the *Dæmoniack*, *Mark* 5. 1. and *Luke* 8. 28. agitated with ſo many Extravagancies, might well anſwer, that their Name was *Legion*, ſince the Variety of their fooliſh Actions made them believe that they were poſſeſſed with ſeveral *Dæmons*. St. *Matthew* gives this Man a Companion, and ſaith that they were two that met

our SAVIOUR, *Matthew* 8. 28. and that he or they *could not be bound*: this is natural, when a ſtrong Man is tranſported with Fury; *he went naked, and dwelt in no Houſe*; but when *he he had broken his Bonds*, ſaith St. *Luke*, he was carried by the *Dæmon* into the Wilderneſs, that is, by his Folly and Madneſs; ſince he muſt firſt be looſed of his Bonds before he could be carried. *He was continually, Night and Day, in the Mountains, and in the Tombs*, (a furious Fellow,) *ſo that none durſt paſs that way: he cryed, and cut himſelf with Stones*; enough to ſhew that he was in Tormenting Pains, for that's the Meaning of the Word Δαιμόνιον, or that he had *Dæmons*, as St. *Luke* ſaith, or many Evil *Spirits*, according to the Peoples Notion; yea, according to the Stile of the Scripture, as I have noted. But with this difference, that by Spirits, the Scripture underſtandeth nothing elſe but the ſeveral Affections and Diſpoſitions of the Soul, whether good or bad; whereas the Heathen did believe, that Virtue and Vice, yea and Sickneſs too, were foreign Spirits which diſturbed the Spi-

Spirits of Men, and they look'd upon them as Divinities; for as *Cicero* witneſſeth, *De Nat. deorum. lib.* 3. there were none but *Tertian* and *Quartan* Agues, that were not Honoured as Gods.

Gulielmus Adar (*a*) a learned Phyſician, (*Ennar.* 5.) hath obſerved, that all the Symptoms of Madneſs mark'd by the *Evangeliſts*, were exactly the ſame with them of the *Lycantrophia*, which makes a Man think himſelf poſſeſs'd with a Devil, or turned into ſomething that he is not. Among the Heathen ſome thought themſelves poſſeſs'd with *Dæmons*, and this Man fanſied that he had many. He was in the Country of the *Gergeſcenes*, ſaith St. *Matthew*, or *Gadarenes*, ſaith St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke* hath *Gadara*, and the *Gergeſcenes* being upon the ſame Coaſt, not far the one from the

(*a*) Gulielmus Ader. 9. Doſignamus ergo Geraſenos iſtos abreptitios vulgari mania melancolica affici, quam Græci medici Lycanthropiam, Lupinam, Inſaniam vocitant: Galli Lougs Garous. Non erit abſonum, aut a Divinis litteris, & evangeliſtarum mente alienum ſi eas etiam a morbifica cauſa laboraſſe, morbo intelligamus. Morbo equidem, qui ægrorum temperamento & loco, & tempori ita conſentiet, ut negari non poſſit iis intellectis cur ægrotos ſcriptura narrat.

other. There were *Jews* in thoſe Parts, ſince our *Saviour* went thither, who was not ſent but to the laſt Houſe of *Iſrael*; but there was ſome Heathen alſo, ſince they had Herds of Swine, which had been a Crime in the *Jews*, as *Lightfoot* proves at large *(a)*. This *Lycantrope* then might be either an *Heathen* or a *Jew*, he had thoſe Heatheniſh Notions of *Dæmons* and Evil *Spirits*. I have already obſerv'd, that theſe Opinions did paſs from the *Heathen* to the *Jews*, and might be common in a place moſt inhabited by Heathens. It was alſo an Opinion commonly receiv'd and grounded upon their Oracles *(b)*, and on the Authority of ſome Philoſophers, *(c)* That the *Dæmons* were ſubject to the Chaſtiſements of the great Gods; which Chaſtiſement, in all likelihood, was to be at the end of the World: And this the Heathen were not Ignorant of, which made *David* to ſing, *That the Lord is great and terrible to the Gods*; for his

(*a*) Lightfoot in *Mat.* 19. 3.

(*b*) Idem. Decad. chor. ante Marc. c. 7. §. 3.

(*c*) Lactan. 1. 1. relates thoſe Oracles, and *Plutarch* in *Iſis, &c.* quotes thereupon the Teſtimony of *Empedocles*. *Lucret.* lib. 5. *Ovid. Metam.* lib. 1. *Luc. Pharſ.* lib. 1. *Sen. Philoſ.* Ep. 17.

Meaning

Meaning is that the Lord, who is the ſupreme God, whoſe Chaſtiſements the *Dæmons* (who are the Gods of People) are afraid of, *Pſ.* 96. *The Lord is dreadful above all Gods of the* (a) *Nations*, as *Elilim*, vain Things. The Seventy have tranſlated it *Dæmons*, in *Pſ.* 6. 95. and *Idols*, 1 *Chron.* 16. 25. But when he ſaith that *Dæmons do believe and tremble*, he ſpeaks to the Heathen converted to the Truth of One only God; and yet fancied that to be ſaved, it was not neceſſary to renounce their vicious Affections, provided they worſhipped but one only God. The Apoſtle tells them, That this was not ſufficient to make them Happy, becauſe that according to the Pagan Doctrine, which they had lately parted with; and *David* did take Notice of the *Dæmons* Worſhipped by them, who believed and confeſſed by their Oracles, that there is but One ſovereign God, which, notwithſtanding, doth not make them Happy, ſince

(a) 1 *Chron.* 16. 25. *Pſal.* 96. 4, 5. *Jam.* 2. 9.

that

that according to the ſame Opinion, the Dæmons do tremble, knowing themſelves to be ſubject to the Correction of this Supreme God. This Place of St. *James* doth certainly allude to that of *David*, who never meant that the Dæmons were a real Thing, but that they were ſomething in others Opinion. This furious Man, now in queſtion, being poſſeſs'd with this Notion, thought he muſt not ſpeak, but in the Perſons of thoſe *Dæmons*, which he fancy'd to be in him; and having heard that *Jeſus* was the Son of God, and that he did caſt *Dæmons* out of Mens Bodies, doth look upon him with Fear, as the Son of God come to puniſh him; wherefore he prays him not to puniſh him before the Time; that is, before the End of the World, or before the Time appointed for the general Puniſhment of *Dæmons*.

Some Difficulties may be thought to be in this; as, 1. That it may be ask'd, How theſe *Dæmons* knew, that *Jeſus* was the Son of *God*? We may anſwer, that they

they knew it by the common Report, which taught it the blind Man in the Way, *Matt.* 9. 27. It may be objected, in the ſecond Place, that the *Dæmons* themſelves did cry out, *that Jeſus was the Chriſt the Son of God*, and that our Saviour forbad them to publiſh it: But I ſay, that the *Dæmons* are named for the afflicted Perſons; for St. *Mark* tells us, Chap. 3. 11, 12. that when the unclean Spirits ſaw him, they fell down and cry'd; for it was not the Spirits, but the Men tormented with them, did ſee, and cried, and fell down. If *Chriſt* forbad thoſe Men to tell who he was, it is becauſe he would not have it publickly known as yet; by the ſame Reaſon that he commanded the Leprous that he had cleanſed, the blind Man he had made to ſee, yea, his very Diſciples, *viz.* St. *Mark* hath it, Chap. 3. ver. 12. That they ſhould not make it known.

But the great Difficulty lies in this, that the *Dæmoniack* called himſelf *Legion*, and pray'd, that they might enter into the Herd of Swine, which being granted,

ed, *the Hogs caſt themſelves headlong into the Sea*; all which cannot be ſuppoſed to be the mere Effect of a bodily Diſeaſe, or of a diſtemper'd Mind. Yet whatſoever the Difficulty may be, it cannot oblige us to acknowledge ſeveral evil Spirits that come from without to torment Men's Bodies; or to ſay with *Joſephus*, *lib.* 7. *Belli Jud. c.* 15. *That theſe vexatious Spirits were the Souls of wicked Men that died unconverted*: A Notion which *Juſtin Martyr* liked ſo well, that he made it an Argument of Subſiſtence of the Soul after Death, *Apol.* 2. And truly were we to find a Troop of Spiritual Guards for *Satan*, and incorporeal Angels, I would not ſeek further than the Damned Souls, who hate God and every Thing that is acceptable to him: But my Opinion is, that the Departed Souls of wicked Men, are all like the rebellious Meſſengers ſpoken of by St. *Jude*, *reſerved under Darkneſs in Chains*; or, as St. *Peter* hath it, *ſunk with Chains of Obſcurity and kept in Priſon, until the Judgment of the great Day*, 2 *Pet.* 2. 4. and ſo they can do no Harm to any Man living; for certain it is, that

thoſe

thoſe ſpoken of both by St. *Peter* and St. *Jude*, are in no Condition to hurt any Body whatſoever, be they mere Spirits or departed Souls; and ſo whatſoever is thus aſcribed to Spirits or Departed Souls, is pure Imagination. I affirm therefore, that the Torments from which our Saviour deliver'd Men, were the Effects of bodily Diſeaſes, or Diſtractions of Spirit, and wherein the Devil acts none otherwiſe than he did in thoſe grievous Diſtempers wherewith *Job* was afflicted. This further appears by what our Saviour ſaith, *Luke* 13. 16. concerning the Woman that had the Spirit of Infirmity, which kept her bow'd down eighteen Years. It was doubtleſs a bodily Diſtemper, proceeding from natural Cauſes; for our Saviour in curing her ſaid no more than this, *Thou art looſed from thine Infirmity*; yet he ſaith likewiſe, *that Satan had kept her bound eighteen Years*: So that if any evil Spirit had a Hand in theſe, it was but one, *viz. Satan* or the *Devil*: Wherefore the Saviour of the World tells them, *That if he did caſt out Dæmons by Beelzebub the*

Prince of Dæmons, then *Satan* did caſt out himſelf; ſuppoſing that there was but one *Satan* that might be the Cauſe of all thoſe Diſtempers called *Dæmons*, which could not be cured by the Authority or Power of *Satan*; or elſe *Satan* muſt caſt out himſelf, or be divided againſt himſelf: And if the Devil was the Tormenter of this *Dæmoniack*, he might alſo ask Leave to drown the Swine: One *Devil* might as well drive one whole Herd of Swine, as one *Spirit* could be a lying Spirit in the Mouth of four hundred of *Ahab*'s Prophets, 1 *Kings* 22. 6—22. But the Truth is, that this poor Man was troubled with a ſore Diſtemper; and the Hogs, by God's Providence, might be ſtruck with the ſame, or with ſome other, more natural and peculiar to them: And it is no more incredible that the Diſtemper of this Madman ſhould paſs into the Hogs, than that *Naaman*'s Leproſy did ſtick to *Gehazi*.

But this Story of the Goſpel is too remarkable to be diſmiſs'd without farther

ther Reflection. And if any Body hath the Curioſity of ſeeing lively Examples of the ſame ſort of Madneſs, let him but repair to *Bethlehem*, or let him enquire of the Governors of that Hoſpital, who is well ſatisfy'd that there is none there poſſeſſed with a Devil; and yet many are ſtrong enough to break Chains, or other Bonds; ſo that if they had not been ſhut up in good Time, they had been ſeen running in the Streets, cutting themſelves, and the like, to the Shame and Diſappointment of them that undertook the taming of them; and notwithſtanding all the Care taken, ſome will break Priſon, and make good what is ſaid of many mad and looſe Fellows, *That they look like one broken looſe out of Bethlehem*: and it is very probable, that among the *Gadarenes* they had not ſuch good Orders kept, but ſome were left to themſelves, and no Pains taken there either to ſtop, or ſhut them up.

2. As St. *Mark* is moſt exact in relating this Caſe, let us take notice of his Words concerning this Madman;

and our bleſſed SAVIOUR tells us, that *ſeeing Jeſus Chriſt afar off, he ran and Worſhipped him*; that in the Greek Dialect, and he fell down before him to the Ground, as a Token of great Humility, a thing common enough to that ſort of People, when they meet with great or learned Men, or Men in Authority. That if our Saviour ſaid immediately, *Thou unclean Spirit get out of this Man;* it was an Act of his Wiſdom to give into the Madman's Sence, to comply with his Imagination, *viz.* to cure him; he complies with his Imagination, that there was ſome great Thing which troubled him, either from within, or from without, for ſuch is the ſtrong Prejudice of ſome of them, that the more you croſs or contradict them, the worſe they are, and prove the more incurable. It may be ſaid alſo, that the Lord proceeded in this manner, to manifeſt his Power and Authority in commanding the unclean Spirits, and making them obedient to his Word; none otherwiſe than if he had ſaid, Thou foul Diſeaſe or unlucky Infirmity, I command thee

to depart from this Man and afflict him no more; or as he ſaid to the ſick of the Palſey, *Stand up and walk*, and ſo in this Place; Be thou healed of thine Infirmity, and deliver'd of thy tormenting Pain.

3. *What is there betwixt thee and me, Jeſus, thou Son of God; Art thou come to Torment us before the Time?* This hath been ſufficiently explain'd: But it ſhould be obſerved that when Men have once put a thing in their Heads, as we commonly ſpeak, they fancy that all they ſee or hear agreeth thereunto. The Author of the *World Bewitch'd*, tells us of a Woman of *Franeker* in the Low Countries, who believ'd herſelf to be irrecoverably damned, and did not ſpeak at all, becauſe ſhe imagined that the damned did ſpeak. The ſame muſt be ſaid of the Man's Anſwer, *My Name is Legion, for we are many.* This Man having diſtracted Brains, imagined that his Head was full of *Dæmons*, and therefore that the Name of *Legion* was a proper Name to take upon himſelf. And

this,

this proves, that it was the Man himſelf who ſpoke, and not the Spirits within him; for our Saviour did not ask, What are your Names; *but what is thy Name?* in the ſingular Number: and ſuch was the Anſwer, Not our Names, *but my Name is Legion*; but it will be objected that it is ſaid, *v.* 15. *Him that had the Legion*, which ſeems to intimate that it was not a ſimple Imagination, but a Reality: yet this is no neceſſary Conſequence. They that relate a Story, as the Evangeliſts do this, relate Things as they appear outwardly, without enquiring into the Cauſes: we do the ſame every Day, when we meet with ſuch *Hypocondriack* Fancies, as to have ſuch a living Thing within him as a Snake or a Wolf. When we ſpeak afterwards of him, we ſay, The Man that had the Snake or the Wolf: If we tell the Story of him that thought he had no Guts, we ſay, The Man that had no Guts: yet he would be thought to affirm, that he was really in ſuch a Condition.

In like manner is what is added, That the *Dæmons* beſought the *Lord that he would not ſend them into the Abyſs*, but permit them to go into the Herd of Swine: Now ſuppoſing that they were the *Dæmons* themſelves that ſpoke this; we muſt then conclude that they knew that they muſt go into the Deep, when they were put out of their Habitations upon the Earth, as their ſettled Dwelling; a thing indeed to be wondred at, that ſo many Thouſands of Priſoners, (for a *Legion* was at leaſt three, or ſix Thouſand,) ſhould be left out of *Hell* to torment one or two poor human Creatures; (and he who is the King or the Judge, that will let out a Priſoner without a ſufficient Reaſon?) And can we conceive, that the great God the Judge of Men and Angels, would give Liberty to ſuch vaſt Numbers to chaſtiſe one Man for a Time; ſeeing eſpecially that one alone was ſufficient to put up St. *Paul* to it, who doubtleſs was another ſort of a Man than this *Dæmoniack*. So that it is evident that theſe were only the bare Words of this poor Sufferer, when

he

he pray'd as in the Names of ſeveral *Dæmons*, that they might not be obliged to return to Hell.

Beſides all this, we cannot but ſay that this Requeſt of the *Dæmons* did tend to ſomething elſe, than ſimply to enter into the Hogs to eſcape the *Abyſs* for that Time, yea that ſhort Space of Time only; for what did they get by that? for the Hogs being drowned, what became of the *Dæmons*? Or did Chriſt grant them a longer Time than they petitioned for? for tho' God gave *Jacob*, *David* and *Solomon* much more than they requir'd, I can hardly think that he would do the Devil ſuch Kindneſs. Furthermore, had they deſir'd to go into the Swine only to be kept out of the *Abyſs* for a Time; How is it that they ſo ſoon ſet fire to the Place of their Refuge, and immediately deſtroy'd their hoſpitable Hogs?

This was a Miracle of our Saviour to cure this Man with one Word, as an Evidence of his Divine Power and

Vertue

Vertue and was the Man thus cured of his *Dæmons*, when they were driven out of his Head and brought again to his right Senſes? wherefore away from hence all *Devils* which are not mentioned, no more than they were ſeen; and let *Chriſt* alone have the Honour of an Action which is unjuſtly aſcribed to *evil Spirits*.

But let us now come to the *Spirits* of *Python*, and take notice in the firſt place, that God commanded that they ſhould be put to Death, *Lev.* 20 27. So that they cannot be Men that were poſſeſs'd, who did unhappily ſuffer Violence againſt their Will, and without being guilty of any apparent Crime, ſince they could not prevent it; therefore theſe muſt be Criminals worthy of Death: but theſe were ſuch as pretend to declare Things to come, and anſwer all Queſtions that were put to them. But in the *Hebrew*, in the 17 Places that make mention of it, and in the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, there is nothing of *Python*, nor

of a *Spirit*. The *Hebrew* Word is *Obe*, and in the Plural Number *Oboth*. I will here ſet down the Places where this Word is found. *Levit.* 19. 31. *Ye ſhall not turn your ſelves to Soothſayers and to Wizards*; the *Hebrew* is, *Ye ſhall not look to Obe*. *Levit.* 20. 6. *When a Soul ſhall have turned herſelf to Soothſayers*; in the *Hebrew*, *The Soul that ſhall look to the Ob*: And ver. 27. *When a Man or a Woman ſhall have a Soothſaying Spirit*; Hebrew, *The Man or the Woman, becauſe there is in them, or was in them, an Ob*, they ſhall be put to Death. *Deut.* 18. 11. *A Man who enquireth for a Soothſaying Spirit*; Hebr. *enquiring or asking an Ob*. 1 *Sam.* 28. 3. *And Saul had put away the Soothſayers*; Heb. *Saul had put the Ob out of the Land*: And ver. 7. *Find me a Woman having a Familiar Spirit. Behold there is at Endor a Woman having a Spirit of Python*; Heb. *Seek me a Woman having an Ob. Behold at Endor a Woman Miſtreſs of an Ob:* For the *Hebrews* called every one Lord and Maſter of what he poſſeſſes. And ver. 8. *Foretell unto me by the Spirit of Python*;

Heb.

Heb. *Propheſy to me by Ob.* Ver. 9. *He hath cut off the Wizards from the Land*; Heb. *He hath put out the Ob out of the Land.* In 2 *Kings* 21. 6. *He appointed Soothſayers*; Heb. *He made an Ob.* The ſame in 2 *Kings* 23, 24. 2 *Chron.* 33. 6. 1 *Chron.* 10. 13. *Becauſe he enquir'd of the Soothſayers*; Heb. *Becauſe he enquir'd by Ob. Iſa.* 8. 19. *When they ſhall ſay unto you, enquire of the Soothſayers*; Heb. *Seek to the Ob. Iſa.* 19. 3. *They ask Counſel of Idols, and Enchanters, and of the Soothſayers, and of the Necromancers*; Heb. *They ſought to the Elilim, to the Ittim, to the Ob. Elilim* were the Idols of *Dæmons*: The Word *Ittim* is found no where elſe, and ſeems to ſignify ſurprizing Things prepar'd at Leiſure: Thoſe having an *Ob*, are they that pretend to tell Fortune and what is to come, as *Iſa.* 29. 4. *Thy Voice ſhall be out of the Ground, as an Ob.* There is only that Place, *Job* 32. 19. where they have found no Spirit of *Python*; the *Hebrew* hath it thus, *Behold my Belly is as new Wine, not open as new Oboth that burſt*; and we have tranſlated it, *Behold*

my Belly is as the Wind that hath no Vent, it would burſt like new Leather Bottles. The *Greek* Tranſlation renders the Word *Ob*, ἐγγαστρίμυθος, which ſignifies one that ſpeaks out of his Belly. In thoſe fore-named Places of *Leviticus*, *Deutronomy*, *Samuel*, *Chronicles*, and *Iſaiah* 8. Whereas the *Hebrew* hath it, 1 *Sam.* 28. 7. *A Woman Miſtreſs of an Ob*; the *Greek* ſaith, *A Woman ſpeaking out of her Belly.* And it appears from 2 *Chron.* 33. 6. that thoſe *Oboth's* were neither Men nor Women; for tranſlating the *Hebrew*, which ſaith, that *Manaſſeth made an Ob*, it expreſſes it thus, Ἔστη σε ἐγγαστρίμυθους, *He made Things that ſpeak out of the Belly*; and, 2 *Kings* 21. 6. where the ſame is recorded; and in the ſame Words in the *Hebrew*; the *Greek* hath it ἐπαπετεμάχη, which ſignifies that *Menaſſeth ſet apart ſome pieces of Earth, that were deſigned for the Uſe of the Ob.*

From all this we may gather, 1. That thoſe *Obe's* were certain Machines made for the Uſe of *Divination*, to anſwer them who enquir'd after Things to come;

and

and were curious to know Things hard to be underſtood. This appears from what is ſaid, that there were ſome who had an *Ob* in their Houſes, *Levit.* 20. 27. *That a Woman was Miſtreſs, or in Poſſeſſion of an Ob,* 1 *Sam.* 28. 7. *That Manaſſeth made an Ob*; and laſtly, from what *Elihu* ſaith, *Job* 32. 19. *That his Belly is as a new Ob that burſt.* 2dly. It is very probable, that theſe Machines or Tools were Statues, out of whoſe Bellies came forth, or pretended to come forth, that Voice which return'd Anſwers, when the Maſters or Miſtreſſes of thoſe *Obs* did ſet them on work, and made them ſpeak; and which ſometimes did break at the firſt trying of them, when they were not made of good Metal, or when their Belly was over full of Wind. This may be gathered from the Expreſſion of the *Septuagint*, and from that of *Elihu*. 3dly, It is evident, that by the Uſe of the *Ob* they pretended to enquire of the Dead: This I conclude from the Story of *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 28. and *Iſaiah* 19. If they

they ſay to you, enquire of the *Ob*, of the Inchanters, Mountebanks, or the like; for thus I render the Word which the *Septuagint* have expreſſed *by theſe that ſpeak out of the Earth*, that mutter, and ſend forth a dark and inward *Spirit*. *Shall not the People enquire of their God, and go to the Dead for the Living?* The Prophet teaches in this Place, that theſe *Obes*, and theſe Juglers, who ſet ſuch Gins to work, cauſing others to hear, (or imagine, that they, as from the Machine's Belly) ſuch Words and Anſwers as do ſatisfy the Living that enquire of the Dead. *Laſtly*, It is indubitable that theſe Statues, made to receive Anſwers from the Dead, were faſtened in the Ground: This is evident, not only becauſe the *Septuagint* have twice tranſlated the Word *Ob*, *by thoſe that cauſe their Voice to be heard out of the Earth*; Τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φθεγγομένας καὶ ἐγγαστριμύθους: as alſo becauſe the ſame Tranſlators, ſpeaking of the *Ob* which *Manaſſeth* made, do ſay, *That he conſecrated pieces of Earth*, 2 *Kings* 21. 6. inſtead of ſaying that he made

made an *Ob*. But this is clear, eſpecially, out of *Iſa.* 29. 4. where God ſaith unto *Ariel, Thou ſhalt be brought down, thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the Ground; thy Speech ſhall proceed ſoftly out of the Duſt, and thy Voice ſhall be heard as out of an Ob*: But the Prophet had never ſpoken thus, had not the *Ob* been in the Ground, from whence it was heard to ſpeak.

Some would conclude from this Expoſition, that as ſuch Machines were criminally invented to find out ſecret and forbidden Things, the Knowledge whereof God hath reſerved to himſelf, *Deut.* 29. 29. *Satan* the Author of all Miſchief, doth take that Opportunity to work his own Deſigns, and by ſuch Inſtruments give ſometimes true Anſwers, whereby the Owners of them obtain Credit and Power, to divert other Men from that Submiſſion they owe to God, and that abſolute Dependance they ſhould have upon his Providence. But moſt certain it is, that the Devil cannot know all Things; yea, I make bold to ſay, that he

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he knows very little, at leaſt in Compariſon to what the World thinks that he knows; he cannot be in ſeveral Places at once, ſince he is ſuppoſed to go to and fro in the World, *Job* 1. 7. But the Truth is, that in all this there is nothing of the Devil, but the Cunning of Cheats, to amuſe and deceive credulous People: And the *Familiar Spirit* is a juggling, deceitful, a *Hocus-pocus Spirit.* The conſtant Practiſers of this Art were the Heathen, who did attribute to their *Dæmons* whatſoever ſeemed extraordinary, and above their Apprehenſion; and were always ready and willing to abuſe others, becauſe of the Profit they got by ſuch Practiſes. The Children of *Iſrael* were alſo addicted to them, notwithſtanding God's Prohibitions, and they uſed them to pleaſe a Curioſity forbidden of God. In theſe Actions there was a Complication of many high Crimes, which the Law judged worthy of Death. Furthermore, ſince God ſhew'd his Anger, and inflicts Puniſhments upon the Guilty, even at the Time of their committing

mitting the Sin, as in the Example of *Miriam*, *Numb.* 12. 10. of *Jeroboam*, 1 *Kings* 13. 1, 4. of *Belſcathſar*, *Dan.* 5 5. We may ſay here alſo, that God was pleaſed to declare unto *Saul* the Puniſhment of his Crime in ſpeaking to an *Ob*; for this alſo is reckoned among the Sins for which he was rejected, and the Cauſes of his Death, 1 *Chron.* 10. 12, 13. " *Saul* died in his Tranſgreſſion, where-" with he tranſgreſſed againſt the Word " of the Lord, which he had not kept, " and alſo becauſe he asked Counſel " of the Miſtreſs of an *Ob*, ſeeking to " her, and had not ſought unto the " Lord; therefore he ſlew him, and " turned the Kingdom unto *David* the " Son of *Iſaiah*.

But this Place of Scripture, ſo conſtantly cited to prove that which neither is, nor can be, *viz.* a Power of *Satan* to know, and do Things proper only to God, have no great Difficulty, if Men would conſider it with Attention, and without Prevention; but ha-

ving firſt receiv'd an Opinion, they read the Place not to be better inform'd, but to ſeek Arguments to maintain it. This was *Saul*'s Caſe, being fully perſwaded that the Woman could raiſe the Dead, and make them declare what would befall the Living; he ſaid to the Woman, *Foretell me by the Familiar Spirit, by Ob, and cauſe him to come up, whom I ſhall name unto thee*, v. 8. The King doubtleſs imagined, either that there was ſomething beſides God, that had a Power and Knowledge of Things that ſhould happen, or that God would diſcover it to that *Ob*. If the former be true, *Saul* was no great Divine, he was far from knowing God as he ought to be known: If the latter, he muſt have been out of his Senſes, to imagine that God refuſing to diſcover Secrets by ſuch Perſons, and in ſuch Manner as himſelf had appointed *Urim* and *Thummim*, and the Prophets, he would reveal the ſame by ſuch Inſtruments as he had ſo abſolutely forbidden his Peo-

ple

ple to make uſe of: ſo that *Saul*'s Authority in this Caſe availeth but little.

But let us examine the Thing more particularly; for the Scripture doth not tell us what the Woman did, but what ſhe ſaw and ſaid: for we read, That the Woman ſeeing *Samuel*, cryed out, *v.* 12. It was not *Samuel*, as our Interpreters affirm, but an Evil Spirit in the Shape of *Samuel*: as indeed no true Chriſtian can conceive, that the *Devil* could take up the true Body of *Samuel*, and tranſport it from *Rama* to *Endor*; and that by her Magical Art ſhe raiſed up that *Evil Spirit*. But the Text hath not one Word to this Purpoſe, for it is in expreſs Terms, that *Saul* deſired her to raiſe up *Samuel*, that it was *Samuel* which the Woman ſaw, and that *Samuel* ſpeak to *Saul* and frighted him. If then *Syrah* is (as he was) in the wrong to have believed that all that is ſaid there is to be underſtood of *Samuel* himſelf; ſince *Moſes* and the Prophets deſired to be heard while they lived,

but riſe not again to ſpeak unto Men, *Luke* 16. 31. What Reaſon have we to believe that the *Devil*, who never was a Prophet, and never delivered to Men any Meſſage from God, nor ſpake conformably to God's Word, ſhould not appear to that Purpoſe, under the Form of a ſanctify'd Body, reſerved in the Grave of Honour to the Day of the Reſurrection.

But if we have (as we cannot but have) all the Reaſon in the World to believe that it was not *Samuel*; why then is it that *Samuel* is named not leſs than five times? Is it that ſomething appeared in the Likeneſs of *Samuel*, to confirm *Saul* in his Error, who ſeeking none but *Samuel*, was to be perſwaded that *Samuel* ſtood before him? Why not the Woman herſelf, that acted the Part of *Samuel*, tha ſpake as if it had been *Samuel*, and who ſaid that ſhe ſaw, him when in deed ſhe ſaw nothing. Some ſuch thing they will Anſwer, becauſe the Text ſaith, that the Woman ſaw not

that

that ſhe ſaid, I ſee very well; it is ſaid alſo, as I noted before, that *Samuel* ſpake, and not the *Devil* in Form of *Samuel*; and that the Woman ſaid, I ſee Gods aſcending out of the Earth: which was falſe, for no ſorts of Gods abide under the Earth, no not *Dæmons* themſelves; none but the Dead do remain there, as *Cicero* relates it, *lib.* 1. *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* §. 26. Theſe are his Words, "We "believe that the Souls do out-live "the Bodies, all Reaſonings do lead to that "Opinion; Reaſon ſhould teach us alſo "where they are: And hence Igno-"rance hath taken occaſion to invent "certain Places under the Earth for "them: for the Bodies falling into "the Earth and being cover'd with "Earth, (*Humo*, whence cometh *Hu-*"*mari*,) they believ'd that the Dead "did yet live under the Earth. How ſo-ever it is not ſaid here, that *Saul* (who was not in the ſame Place where the Woman ſaw *Samuel*, as ſhe pretended) did ſee any thing; yea it is plain by the Story, that he ſaw nothing; for why

ſhould

ſhould he ask the Woman, What ſaweſt thou? And what is he like? The ſame is obſerved by the Tranſlators *N.* 27. "*Saul*, ſay they, knew that it was *Samuel*, by the Diſpoſition of his troubled Senſes, and the Woman's Diſcourſe; but himſelf ſaw not *Samuel*." As for the Woman's Diſcourſe, Was it not eaſy for her deſcribe *Samuel*'s Habit, which was ſo well known? or to counterfeit his Voice out of her own Diſpoſition, or the Conveniency of the Room fitted to that Purpoſe: or as the the *Engaſtrimathoi* we have ſpoken of, as if her Voice came from her Belly, or from under the Earth, or even as at a great Diſtance. The Prophecy which followeth is eaſily anſwered, as being but a Conjecture of the Woman, and it is not well known what ſhe meant by the Words, *Thou ſhalt be with me to Morrow.* What, with me the *true Samuel?* that had given no Occaſion for Fear, but rather of Joy to *Saul*, to go to the ſame Place where holy *Samuel* was. But was it with *me*, the *Devil?* That muſt be a Lie;

Lie; unleſs you will ſay alſo, that *Jonathan* the Son of *Saul*, that was killed with him, did alſo go to the ſame Place where the *Devil* was. Beſides that, if you ſeriouſly conſider the Diſtance of Places, and the many Things that happen'd betwixt the Time that *Saul* was at *Endor*, and the Hour of his Death, you will confeſs, as many have done, that it could not be leſs than five Days, if not eight, as ſome do conjecture. This is ſufficient to juſtify, that all this might very well come to paſs, without any Commerce with the *Devil*, and that the Actions here mentioned, have no need of the Operation of ſuch Spirits to produce them; and all this cannot make us underſtand what is meant by a *Familiar Spirit*, or a Spirit of *Python*; whether a Man, or a Spirit, or not rather a cunning and ſubtle Contrivance of a Jugler. Whoſoever would ſee the Meaning of the Word *to Morrow*, and that *Saul* could not have been kill'd till five Days after his Diſcourſe with the Woman, let him read *Becker* of the *World Bewitch'd*,

Bewitch'd, *Tom.* 2. *Ch.* 24. and *Tom.* 3. *Ch.* 6. And let this be added, that as many as will underſtand this Story in the literal Senſe, muſt prove, that the *Hebrew* Word *Ob*, or *Obe*, ſignifies a *Spirit endued with the Gift of Prophecy*; and that to do it, he muſt appear under ſome Form, or in what Figure he pleaſeth, at the Wiſh or Command of a Woman.

Of the Word SPIRIT; *of* ſeducing Spirits; *and of thoſe Words*, juſtify'd *in the* Spirit; *and of the* Angels *that ſhall be* judged *by the* Faithful.

WHAT I have ſaid of ſeducing *Spirits*, is not approved by every Body, becauſe the Sence in which I take the Words, ſeems to be new: And yet it is not ſo new as many do think. Hear what *Beza* ſaith, "By the Word *Spi-*" *rit* we may underſtand *Dæmons* them-" ſelves, or falſe Prophets, of their Doc-" trine." I have pitched on the laſt, according to the Liberty given me, and

I have done it ſo much the more readily, that conſulting the Obſervation of the Learned, I have found, that if ſome Manuſcripts, according to the which the New Teſtament began to be printed, had πνεύμασι πλάνοις, *ſeducing Spirits*; ſeveral others had, πνεύμασι πλάνης, *Spirits of Error*. I will only ſet down here Mr. *Amelot*'s Obſervation: "According to "the vulgar *Greek*, we ſhould ſay *ſedu-* "*cing Spirits*; but in three of *King*'s "Manuſcripts, in the beſt of *Stevens*'s, "in thoſe of Cardinal *Ximenes*, and of "the Marquis *de Welex*, there is, as in "our Interpreter, πνεύμασι πλάνης, to the "*Spirits of Error.*" This juſtifies my Tranſlation to be the ſurer of the two; ſince it may agree with both Readings of the Original; whereas the other will agree only with the vulgar *Greek*: For, keeping to the Word πλάνοις, I may tranſlate, *To the Doctrine*, that *deceive*, or *erroneous Doctrines*; but admit the Word, πλάνης, it cannot be render'd otherwiſe, than by the *Doctrines of Error*. The Spi-

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rits of Error are either the Teachers of erroneous Doctrines, or the Doctrines themſelves; and every Body will grant, that it may more properly be ſaid, *Giving up themſelves to Error, than giving up themſelves to Seducers, or Teachers of Error*; for Men do commonly give up themſelves to Doctrines rather than to Doctors. Beſides, there is not one Place in Scripture that I know of, where the Word *Spirit* ſignifies a *Teacher.* They quote none other to that Purpoſe than this in queſtion, and which ought no longer to be inſiſted on, after what I have ſaid.

But there are ſeveral Places where the Word *Spirit* ſignifies *Doctrine*; for thus Interpreters do underſtand, 1 *Cor.* 14. 32. *The Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*; as indeed this Place has Reſpect to the 29th Verſe, *Let two or three Prophets ſpeak, and let the others judge:* The Meaning can be no other, than that the Doctrines ſet forth by ſome

Prophets that ſpeak, muſt be ſubject to the Judgment of others. When St. *John* ſays, *That ſome Spirits are of God, and ſome are not*, 1 *John* 4. 1, 2. ſurely he would have us know, that there be ſome Sentiments and Doctrines whereof God is the Author, and ſome others that proceed not from him: *That Spirit from the Mouth of the Lord which is to deſtroy the Son of Perdition*, 2 *Theſ.* 2. 8. ſeems to me to be none other, than the Doctrine of the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt* clearly manifeſted. *The three unclean Spirits coming forth out of the Mouth of the Dragon, and out of the Mouth of the falſe Prophet, and out of the Mouth of the Beaſt*, *Rev.* 16. 13, 14. are certainly three dangerous Tenets or Opinions, which are called *Spirits of Dæmons*, to ſignify, (as in the Text) the Doctrine of *Dæmons*, becauſe all the three tend to cauſe dead Men to be religiouſly honoured, as is practiſed among the Heathen, and under the Empire of the Beaſt, and of the falſe Prophet. Several other Pla-

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ces may thus be clearly explain'd, which otherwiſe may not eaſily be underſtood.

This Word *Spirit* does ſometimes expreſs the Divine Virtue working above Nature, and the Wonders that it brings forth, as you may obſerve in the Places under-noted (*a*) a Truth which cannot be deny'd; and I wiſh that thoſe who labour ſo much to prove, that in the Church, there is not another immediate Operation of the *Holy Ghoſt*, beſides the working of *Miracles*, would ſeriouſly conſider this, and confeſs, that there is not a greater Difficulty to admit this immediate working of Faith and Regeneration, than his Propheſying and ſpeaking of Tongues; for St. *Paul* ſaying, *that there is a Diverſity of Gifts, but there is one and the ſame Spirit*, doth aſcribe Wiſdom, Knowledge, and Faith to the ſame Spirit, as he doth to the Cure of Diſeaſes, propheſying, diſcerning of Spi-

(*a*) Judg. 14. 16. Ch. 15. 13. Iſa. 31. 3. Joel 2. 28. 29. Matt. 12. 28. 1 Cor. 12. 4, 8, 9, 10, 13. 1 Pet. 3. 8.

rits,

rits, and ſpeaking of Languages; *and that all, both Jews and Greeks, whether bond or free, are made to drink of the ſame Spirit*; as in another Place, *that whoſoever hath not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his*, Rom. 8. 9.

Some others do not approve of my Notion about the Words *juſtified in the Spirit*; that we ſhould underſtand them of the miraculous Works of the Spirit of God, which have confirmed this Truth, *That Jeſus Chriſt is God manifeſted in the Fleſh*; but I ſee not how a better Senſe can be put upon them: The different Opinions of thoſe who have labour'd hard to find out another, have fixed mine, and with me follow others that have proved it by St. *Peter*'s Words, *Acts* 2. 22. *Jeſus of Nazareth, a Man approved of God among you by mighty Works and Wonders, and Signs, which he did by him in the midſt of you, as ye yourſelves alſo know* (*a*). Great is the Number of

(*a*) Aimo, Eſtius. The old Notes on the Bible of Lunacy, Piſcator, Toſſanus, Amiraldus, Deodati, Dallæus.

thoſe

thoſe Commentators that have expounded them as I do, and apply'd them particularly to our Saviour's Reſurrection.

They find Fault likewiſe with my comment upon 1 of *Cor.* 6. 3. *Know ye not that we ſhall judge the Angels.* And indeed I do not wonder at it, becauſe moſt Interpreters underſtanding it otherwiſe: But the Truth is, that we are naturally Proud, and wonderful delighted with this Thought, that a Day will come, wherein we ſhall be appointed Judges of the Angels. But let me intreat the Reader to examine ſtrictly the difficulties ariſing from the common Opinion; as in the firſt Place, That Interpreters do not agree about ſeveral Heads. Some will have it *That all the Elect of God ſhall Judge the Angels.* Others that *the Miniſters only ſhall have this priviledge.* Some ſay *that the Angels to be judged, are the wicked Angels only.* Others will have the *good ones to be no leſs Subject to this Judgment.* Some do pretend *to Judge even in this Life,* others are con-

contented *to wait till the laſt Day.* Some do believe *that they ſhall ſit with Chriſt upon the Bench.* Others affirm, *That they ſimply acquieſce to the Judgment given by Chriſt.* Yea, *that the Faithful ſhall only be brought in as Examples, which the ſupreme Judge ſhall produce againſt the condemned.* Beſides this, There are ſome things which they have not minded, and which ſeem to me to be of no ſmall difficulty. St. *Paul*'s Argument is a *Majori ad minus.* If we are to Judge the Angels, how much rather things pertaining to this Life? They ſhould explain to us, what relation there is between theſe two ſorts of Judgment; and what conſequence may follow from a Judgment that conſiſts only in Approbation, or given Evidence, or a Judgement that pronounces Sentence, and decides Matters: ſuch as the Apoſtles would have the Faithful to give about the Diſpute of their Brethren Furthermore, St. *Paul* grounds his Diſcourſe upon this Suppoſition, That what he ſpake was well known of all them that he ſpake to. *Do you not know*

faith

ſaith he, *that we ſhall judge the Angels?* Let me therefore ask theſe Doctors, who cannot determine what Judges ſhall pronounce this Judgment, or what Angels ſhall be judged; When, and after what manner this Judgment ſhall be given? and how God's Children can know that they ſhall be judged? But I get out of this *Lybyrinth*, by following the Sentiment of thoſe St. *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaks of upon this Place, and who believe, that the Angels meant, are the Miniſters of the Church, who are to be judged by the Church it ſelf. Thoſe Prophets, whoſe Spirits or Doctrines, are to be ſubject to the Prophets, who judge of what is ſaid; and conſequently do judge of Things greater and of an higher Importance than the Things of this Life. Tho' ſome Copies do put a circumflex Accent upon the Words κρινοῦμεν, and κρινοῦμεν, to make them ſecond Future Tenſes; others do leave the Mark of the Preſent, and that removes all the Difficulty.

I ſhall mention no more Places of the holy, Scripture which are ill underſtood by moſt, to find out their Witchcraft and Apparitions; Spirits working Wonders upon Bodies, and by the Means of ſtrange Bodies, (whereby all the ſilly Stories of old Women and Children are aſſerted and maintained:) There being an excellent book written originally in *Dutch*, and moſt exactly Tranſlated into *French*, in 4 *Vols.* whereof the firſt is already made *Engliſh*, and I hope and pray that God will raiſe ſhortly ſome learned and zealous Chriſtian for the Truth, that may finiſh that neceſſary Work: The Title of it is, *Le monde Enchante*, and it contains weighty and unanſwerable Anſwers, to whatſoever hath yet been Publiſh'd on this Subject.

But let me anſwer that which ſome will call a very material Objection, *viz.* That the Vulgar Opinion, being the more general and alſo own'd not to be damnable of it ſelf, to what Purpoſe

is all this Stir about it? and why are theſe new Notions ſo zealouſly preſſed and inculcated? Yet I muſt ſay, that this Notion is neither new nor inconſiderable among Men of Learning, and aiming at Perfection. And I preſume that what follows, will juſtify that it is not an indifferent thing, whether Chriſtians be rightly informed in this Point or not. Obſerve therefore that in all things, and in the firſt Place he ſhould have an Eye to the Glory of our God, which we cannot advance too much, nor remove too far, whatſoever is diſhonorable to him; nor make the Way of Salvation too plain before Men. The Opinion commonly receiv'd concerning the *Devil*'s Power and Dominion, of inſpiring all the Evil that is done; tormenting Men and Women, yea and Children, who as yet have no Knowledge of Good and Evil, keeping in his Dependence, *Legions* of active and wicked Spirits always ready at his command, or able of themſelves to vex the Living, or even to raiſe up or repreſent the Dead, for the Terror

of poor Mortals; and they ſuppoſed to be endued with ſuch Power to tempt Men, as to trapan them into Subſcriptions to certain Covenants whereby they renounce God, and ſell themſelves to the *Devil*, either for a little Pelf, or a ſilly Pleaſure, in plaguing and deſtroying their Fellow Creatures, not Men only, but Cattle alſo. This, I declare I can never agree to; and I affirm, that the Belief of it is highly diſhonourable to God, and a ſtumbling Block in the way of Mens Salvation. This will be juſtified by Examples; as,

1. What are Inchantments and conjuring Words, which ſuch Multitudes of Men do believe to have a Vertue of working ſo many ſorts of wonderful Effect? Some do conceive a Vertue to be in the Words, and others in the Operation of *Satan*, upon the pronouncing of them; for this we have the bold aſſertion of an eminent Author: "Experience teaches us, that

"theſe

" theſe Words, theſe Actions and Things
" have ſome Power. This he ſtoutly
" affirms, when upon this Principle
" he asketh this Queſtion, From what
" Cauſe doth proceed this Virtue? of
" theſe Means, if not always, yet ſome-
" times? Hear his Anſwer, That pro-
" ceeds from the *Devil's* Will and Plea-
" ſure, and not from any conſtant and
" natural Diſpoſition of theſe Means*(a)*."
Too many more will ſay the ſame; ſo that it is the Vulgar Notion, *That this Vertue is in the Means.* How abominable and criminal is this Opinion? The *Centurian* ſaid to our Saviour, *Speak the Word, and thy Servant ſhall be healed* *Matt.* 8. 9. Surely this *Centurion* thought not that the Power of Healing was in the Word, but in the Power and Will of *Jeſus Chriſt.* The *Leprous* aſcribeth it to *Chriſt*'s Will; *Lord, if thou wilt*

(a) Voetius, Diſput. III. pag. 578. Verba, Actiones & res illas aliquid poſſe docet experientia: procedit hoc ex orbirio Diaboli, non ex conſtanti aliqua mediorum aptitudine.

thou

thou canſt make me clean. The ſame is confirmed by *Chriſt* himſelf, *who ſtretch'd forth* his hand and ſaid, *I will, Be thou clean:* And are not Men aſhamed to ſay the ſame of *Satan* as of *Chriſt*; And yet this they do; and are not aſhamed, far from it, they ſtudy Arguments and ſtand to them, as if they were unanſwerable Proofs of their fooliſh Notions; the *Devil* can do it, and more, if God permit him. A ſubtil Way of Reaſoning indeed! which ſuppoſes that God may permit the *Devil* to be God, for he muſt be no leſs, and Almighty Creator likewiſe, if he doth all thoſe Things that he is ſaid to do. And who can imagine that *Satan* being a vile and wicked Creature, fallen from God, and his greateſt Enemy, ſhould be permitted to do more and greater Things than ever he ſuffer'd to be done by his beſt Servants? But this ſtands for nothing, they will go on and diſpute ſtill: For they ſay, That God permits the *Devil* to work Miracles, tho' it be to conform a falſe Doctrine and ſeduce Men. For

now they ſtick not to own that God can, and doth actually permit *Satan* to deceive Men, by working ſuch Things, as is not poſſible for a Creature to do. Which Notion muſt neceſſarily aſcribe a Divinity to the *Devil*, or make God the Author of Sin. If either *Satan* doth them of himſelf, or God doth work the ſame by him: To this End they would have us to underſtand litterly that Place, *Rev.* 13. 11, 13. *That the ſecond Beaſt ſpake like the Dragon, and worketh great Signs and Wonders, even to make Fire to come down from Heaven*, in the ſight of Men, *Deut.* 13. *Moſes* ſuppoſes that a Sign or a Wonder may happen, which is deſign'd only to take away Men from the Worſhip of the true God. But in all this, no mention is made of the *Devil*; and ſurely the Wickedneſs of Man is ſufficient to make him fall into Idolatry, yea and to draw others after him and ſeduce them by pretended Signs and Miracles. Every one is willing to make Proſelytes, and zealous to bring over others to their Opinion.

pretion. *Idolatrous Popery* did conſtanly produce ſuch Miracles to the ſame purpoſe: The Prophets ſpoken of by *Moſes* were falſe Prophets, and Dreamers of Dreams, pretended to have ſeen and heard, and their Miracles were the ſame pretended and falſe Miracles; and if any thing was done, yet nothing above Nature, tho' the Beholders comprehended it not.

2. I reckon this among inexcuſable Abſurdities, that Conjurers, Witches, or the Devil himſelf can do all that God permits them to do. Can Men in their Senſes conclude, that a mere Permiſſion can enable for Action? Chriſt permitted St. *Peter* to walk upon the Sea, but enabled him not to do it; as he did to heal the impotent Man at the beautiful Gate of the Temple. I ask therefore, whether it was ſimple Permiſſion that made *Balaam*'s Aſs to ſpeak, and the Iron to ſwim? Permiſſion alone will never produce Things above Nature, nor work Miracles. And if *Satan* and his Imps do

what

what is beyond their Nature, they muſt have the Power and Strength given them to do it, and that from God; and ſo God is the Doer of what is done: That if the Devil doth of himſelf what Men ſay he doth above his Nature, he muſt be own'd to do greater Things than God ever did: Yet, oh Horror! there is nothing more common than Chriſtians yea Proteſtants, to impute to *Satan* the working the ſame Things or more: As for Example; was God the Ruler and Commander of the Air, when he cauſed Thunder, Fire and Hail in the Land of *Egypt?* The Devil is thought to have had the ſame Power, when the Houſes of *Job*'s Children were overthrown; and now, that he hath whole Nations of *Laplanders* and *Finlanders*, who are able to raiſe, turn, and ſell the Wind, and, by untying a Knot made in the Corner of a Handkerchief, raiſe a Storm, and lay it again. And is it not now a common Saying, when conſiderable Miſchief is done by a Storm, that ſome Body is conjuring. One of our Saviour's

greateſt and moſt admirable Work, is reſtoring the Dead to Life again, *John* 5. 20. by it he prov'd his Divinity and Almighty Power. *As the Father raiſes up the Dead and quickeneth them, ſo the Son quickeneth whom he will.* But it is pretended that *Satan* goes farther, for *Chriſt* raiſed up the Dead, by reuniting the Soul with the ſame Body; but according to the vulgar Opinion, the *Devil* can make Bodies for Spirits, which never had any Relation to a Body, and he can animate that which never had a Soul, yea transfrorm Men into Beaſts, and bring them to themſelves again: He changes them and himſelf into Cats and Goats, and that not in Appearance only, but in Reality, for if the Cat be beaten, the Witch will have a Bruiſe; if the Hare be bitten by a Dog, and eſcapes, the Witch will go lame the next Day. The Prophet, by the Power of God, cauſed the Iron to come up from the bottom to the top of the Water, 2 *Kings* 6. 6. But *Satan* makes a Multitude of Witches to ſwim, where

other

others would ſink immediately. Theſe are but few of innumerable Inſtances that may be produc'd, to prove that Men do allow the *Devil* a Power and Operations above Nature; and if that is true, then he is a God. Every Creature is confined by God himſelf to the Properties of its own Nature, and ſo are the Actions proceeding from theſe Properties: So that we muſt ſay that when a Creature acts contrary to, or above its Nature, it is God's own Act, either by his own immediate Operation, as when St. *Peter* cured the impotent Man with one Word ſpeaking, as he ſaid to the People, *why do you look on us, as if by our own Power we had made this Man to walk?* or by giving extraordinary Abilities to the Means, beyond their Nature, as after the troubling of the Water of *Bethesda*; and to the Waters of *Jordan*, to cure the *Leproſy*. As for my part, I will never enquire what the *Devil* can do, when I ſee any thing done, that is above Nature; for then I am ſure he cannot be the Doer of it: yet

not only old Women and Idiots among the Vulgar, but even learned and eminent Men will affirm the ſame, and a great deal more inconſiſtent, not only with the Principles of Chriſtian Religion, but alſo contradictory to the Truth of the Creation, which hath ſet ſuch Bounds to all Creatures which they cannot paſs; not only without God's Permiſſion, but alſo without his giving them Power and Strength, beyond what he firſt imprinted in their Nature; and therefore what is ſaid of Spirits acting corporally upon Bodies, or of Bodies acting as Spirits, muſt either be falſe, or the Work of him, who is the Author of Nature, and is able to alter it when, and as he pleaſeth: So the Opinion of any Creature having a Power of working Things above its Nature, cannot be maintained to the Glory of God.

3. I ſay again, that the commonly receiv'd Opinion is a great ſtumbling

Block

Block unto Man, even in the Way of his Salvation: For, firſt of all, it furniſhes the Atheiſt with an unanſwerable Argument againſt the Truth of our Holy Religion; for we pretend this to be undeniably eſtabliſh'd by it, that the Writers of the *Bible* did thoſe Things, which were impoſſible to be done without the Finger of God: This was the Caſe of the Law, *Deut.* 4. 42. *God hath taken to himſelf a People, out of another People, by Temptations, by Wonders, by a ſtrong Hand, and by an out-ſtretched Arm, and by great Terrors.* It is the Caſe of the Goſpel, *Heb.* 2. 4. *God witneſſing together with them by Signs, and Wonders, and mighty Works.* But if what is conceived of the *Devil* takes Place, Conjurers and Witches go beyond *Moſes* and the Prophets, and *Chriſt* himſelf; for the Devil daily ſets forth Prophecies, and doth Wonders beyond *Urim* and *Thummim.* If God created and governs the World, and all Things ſubſiſt by his Will, in the ſame Order that he ſet them, *Revel.* 4. 11. it is ſaid alſo that the Devil can do all

this:

this; but what ſaith the *Spirit of Truth*, *Iſa.* 41. 23. *Make us to underſtand Things to come, and ye are Gods:* But hidden Things, and Things to come, are diſcover'd by the Devil's Revelation: If he is the God of this World, if he knows the Hearts, and can work upon them, and underſtand the Myſteries of Salvation, he hath divine Attributes, and he can do all Things; inſpire *David* to go and number the People, and take from *Job* all his Goods, and the Health of his Body: But you will ſay, that the *Devil* can do nothing but what God permits him to do. Have Care, I pray: Our Saviour ſaid that of himſelf, *John* 5. 19. *I can do nothing of myſelf.* Beware making Compariſons, which this new receiv'd Opinion is but too apt to do, to the great Scandal and Prejudice of the Chriſtian Religion, and hinders Men from knowing and ſerving God as they ought to do. St. *James* tells us, *That if any lacketh Wiſdom, he muſt beg it of God*, who alone is able to give it. But this Opinion tells us, that *Satan*, out of his

great

great Capacity, and long Experience, can reveal all Things to Men. The Prophet *Amos* puts this Queſtion, *Is there any Evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it?* But what anſwers this Conceit, All Evil is from the Devil. If we be aſſaulted with any ſad or troubleſome Thoughts, or feel in our Conſciences ſome Checks or Diſturbances for the Evil that we have done, we complain that we are purſued by an evil Spirit. And do we diſcourſe of another World, we hear of nothing oftner than the Devil's dragging and hauling Souls into *Hell*: So that however we are taught to honour and love God, we are alſo inſtructed to fear the Devil, contrary to the Scripture, which informs us, *that God, and he alone, is to be fear'd*; and that it is a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the *Living God*; not of a *Devil* in Chains.

And will not our pure and Holy Religion ſuffer much, by thus making God the Author of theſe Errors and Cheats,

Cheats, which are ſet on work to ſeduce Men; for the Devil hath no Share in Omnipotence, and God muſt be the Doer of all thoſe Things that exceed Nature, and yet are made Uſe of to turn away Men from God, to look upon *Satan* as the Engineer of theſe ſurprizing Things. Let our Hearts abhor ſuch Conceits, for they will keep us from the right Sentiments we ſhould have of the Divinity, and, by Conſequence, make us incapable of rendering to our God that Honour, Reverence, and Service, which are due to him. As many as fancy that God either permits or gives the Devil a Power to do ſuch Things, do aſcribe to *Satan* a Power and Kingdom antecedent to, and as laſting as that of God's only Son; having under his Command and Direction Multitudes of Spirits, Men and Witches, who having contracted a ſtrict Alliance with him, do aſſert his Dominion in all Parts of the World, to the great Grievance of innumerable Creatures, and the eternal Damnation of poor deluded Souls.

But

But to conclude, the Notions are inconſiſtent with the *Practice* of *Piety*, according as St. *Paul* marks their Oppoſition, 1 *Tim.* 4. 7. *But reject ungodly and old Wives Fables, and exerciſe thy ſelf unto Godlineſs* : Here is a caſting out of the one, and admitting the other; not only preferring *Piety* before theſe *Fables*, but be ſure to have nothing to do with theſe, and give thy ſelf wholly to the other; whereby it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that ſuch *Fables* can never agree with *Piety*. This is what St. *Peter* would have us to underſtand, when he ſaith, 2 *Pet.* 1. 16. *We follow not after cunningly deviſed Fables, but we have made known unto you the Power and Coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt among the Heathen*; as now in *Popery* Religion was grounded upon Fables; all their Divinations, Magick, and Conjurations were built upon that Foundation. And it was thus at *Epheſus*, when St. *Paul* writ this Epiſtle; that City being the Metropolis of

all the Heatheniſh Religions, by Reaſon of the Magnificence of *Diana*'s Temple, and other Images ſuppoſed to come down from Heaven, all which was a mere Fable; the Prieſts of thoſe falſe Divinities being accuſtomed to wrap up the Worſhip of their Gods and Dæmons with contriv'd Stories of their Extraction, Education, and Actions, and their Laws requir'd of Men their Worſhippers, reſerving always to themſelves the Explication of theſe; and to confirm the People in the blind Service of theſe Gods, they pretended Apparitions, Revelations, and Miracles. The *Jewiſh Talmud*, the *Turkiſh Alcoran*, the *Roman* Legends, the Writings of our new *Antitrinitarians*, *Socinians*, and *Antiſcripturiſts*, are to be avoided, with all Worſhippers of Tradition; for that is a new Hereſy ſtarted up of late among *Proteſtants*. Theſe are Things that are made uſe of to ſeduce People, and make Gain of their Money, by feeding their Minds by ſuch craftily invented Stories; ſuch as

as the Apoſtle hath given a very proper Name to, σεσοφισμένους μυθους, *maliciouſly forged Fables:* Of this Nature is all this *Demonology*, or *Doctrine of Dæmons*, ſo much reverenc'd by the Heathen, profane and ridiculous Inventions entertain'd, and daily rehears'd among Children by old Women, whoſe weak Brains being filled with them, will not ceaſe relating them to the younger Sort of People, as if they were undoubted Truths, eſtabliſh'd by the moſt certain Experience: But the worſt of all is, that for ſuch Things old Women and others are often caſt into Priſons, tormented, and doomed to the Flames, as convicted of Diabolical Magick. Theſe are but few of thoſe many Arguments that occur to juſtify that theſe vulgar Notions are inconſiſtent with the Practice of Piety, ſince they fill up Mens Thoughts with Vanities, and make all their Devotion to be nothing but Superſtition and Idolatry.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

Treatiſe of SPIRITS.

FINDING the learned Part of the World grown more curious to know the Truth about Spirits, and that the Diſpute concerning Witches and Apparitions ſeems not to be at an End; but particularly becauſe I have met a late

a late Pamphlet, which pretends ſtrongly to prove his Point; but ſo weak are his Arguments, that he will find himſelf diſappointed, if he expects an Anſwer. I ſhall only tranſcribe his Title Page, and I take that to be Anſwer enough. For theſe Reaſons I have added this Appendix.

The Poſſibility and Reality of Magick, Socery and Witchcraft demonſtrated: Or, A Vindication of a Compleat Hiſtory of Magick, Socery and Witchcraft. In Anſwer to Dr. Hutchinſon's Hiſtorical Eſſay. *By* Richard Boulton, *ſome time of* Brazen-Noſe *College.*

The mighty Stumbling Block of learned Men, labouring under an habitual Prevention in the Caſe now

in

in Hand, are above the reſt, two ſhort Hiſtories, one in the Old Teſtament, the other in the New Teſtament, *viz.* The WITCH, or NO WITCH of ENDOR, for the Scripture doth not call her ſo; and the ſuppoſed Tranſmigration of the Dæmons into the Herd of Swine; both theſe are, (as I ſuppoſe) very well explained in the Treatiſe. But becauſe the Men with whom I have to do, back'd by the Multitude, will multiply his Words, againſt Arguments both of holy Scripture and natural Evidence; I have thought fit to make an Addition of this ſhort Appendix; being perſwaded, that a ſhort Paraphraſe on theſe two Places, will clear the Point, and put an End to the Diſpute.

As to the firſt, the Scripture tells us, That *there was a Time when the Spirit*

Spirit of God was upon Saul, and a Time when he was departed from him. At this Time of Diſtraction doubtleſs it was that *Saul* undertook to go to *Endor*; and it muſt be ſo, for he went for Information to one of thoſe, whom himſelf had baniſhed out of the Land; yea, whom he knew God had forbidden ſhould be ſuffered to live. He was mad indeed to think that he could be diſguiſed from a Cunning Woman, who could not be ignorant of what every Body knew, that *Saul was higher by the Head and Shoulders than any of the People.* Diſtracted indeed he was! to imagaine to get true Information, when God refuſed to anſwer him; but a Spirit from the Lord tormented him; yet our Interpreters never thought to reckon him among the Poſſeſſed; becauſe I ſuppoſe, it is ſaid that it was a Spirit from the Lord, not from Satan,

tan, or the Devil. However, *Saul* was in a diſtracted Condition, for he was afraid at the Sight of the *Philiſtine* Army; and ſo in a proper Caſe to be put upon by ſuch Pretenders to Devination, being throughly perſwaded of her great Skill in the Art of Magick. And accordingly, take Notice how the Woman acts her Part: He came to her in the Night, the proper Time for Deeds of Darkneſs, and none more dark than applying to the Dead for Relief; ſuch was his Errand, *I pray thee divine unto me by the Familiar Spirit, and bring me him up whom I ſhall name unto thee*; like that of *Dives* to *Lazarus*, *Send one from the Dead to my Brethren, to teſtify unto them*; and yet this is a Thing much to be taken Notice of, That of all thoſe that were rais'd from the Dead, none is ſaid to

have continued upon Earth, or to have done any thing, or to have given any Information. So that *Saul*'s Requeſt was both impertinent and impoſſible, that *Samuel*, an holy Man, and now at reſt from his Labours, ſhould be diſquieted to pleaſe the Curioſity of a mad, rebellious Prince, and the Covetouſneſs of a wicked and preſumptuous Woman; therefore the Woman ſaid unto him, and very prudently, to avoid the Penalty of the Law, *Thou knoweſt what Saul hath done.* He, to be ſure of her, gives her the greateſt Security that ſhe could have, a ſolemn Oath of him to whom belongs the Execution of the Law; *And Saul ſware to her by the Lord, ſaying, As the Lord liveth, there ſhall no Puniſhment happen unto thee for this Thing.* Upon this Aſſurance, ſhe is encouraged, and

begins

begins her Work, and ſaith, *Whom ſhall I bring up unto thee? And he ſaid, Bring me up Samuel.* Fooliſhly thinking doubtleſs, as the vulgar Error prevail'd, that ſhe could by her Art bring *Samuel* to talk with him about Buſineſs, as he us'd to do when he was alive: But, alas! *tempore mutantur*, the Apparition muſt be to her, not to him, as will be manifeſt preſently; how cometh this ſudden Tranſition, without more Words, from his Requeſt to the Apparition to her, *Ver.* 12. *And when the Woman ſaw Samuel, ſhe cry'd with a loud Voice*; but only becauſe *Saul*, very Intent upon the Buſineſs, muſt be ſuppoſed to be in haſte, and the Woman immediately ſteps into her Cell, or Cloſet, where ſtood the *Ob*, or *Death*'s Head, here called the *Familiar Spirit*, which our Conjurors or For-

tune-Tellers have thought fit to change into the *caſting of a Figure upon Paper*, which no Body underſtands but themſelves, and the Conjuror alone muſt give the Signification thereof. *When the Woman ſaw Samuel*, for hitherto he ſaw nothing; and why not *then*, if he was to ſee at all; no, there muſt be further juggling in the Caſe; the Woman was to *ſee*, and he to *hear* only; therefore ſhe goes to the proper Place appointed for Viſions and Apparitions, into which Place the Client is not permitted to enter, out of which ſhe ſtarts, with wonted Amazement, for *ſhe cry'd with a loud Voice, and ſpake to Saul, ſaying, Why haſt thou deceiv'd me? For thou art Saul.* Now the King is fully perſwaded that the Woman had had the Viſion, and that by it ſhe had diſcovered who he was, for

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he anſwered her, *Be not afraid, for what ſaweſt thon?* The Viſion is over, and yet he ſaw nothing, and we will have him be very clear-ſighted, when he was ſtark Blind; which he confeſſes by ſaying to her, *What ſaweſt thou? And what Apparition was this? I ſaw* (not thou) *Gods aſcending out of the Earth.* A Viſion indeed, of Plurality of Gods in a People which believed but one, and they aſcending out of the Earth! a Place where the very Gods of the Heathen were never ſaid to dwell. I would therefore entreat my Antagoniſts to give me the Meaning of thoſe Words, which, I muſt confeſs I underſtand not: But as the dark Anſwers of our Aſtrologers, and of the ancient Oracles, which were never delivered but in Enigmatical Terms; but of theſe the poor Prince had no ſight; for he ſaid to her,

her, *What Form is he of?* Surely he ſaw nothing yet, for ſhe ſaid, *An old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle.* Then *Saul perceived*, he did not ſee that it was *Samuel*, but he *perceived*, he *conjectured* and *concluded* it from the Words of the Woman; as all thoſe that will have their Fortune told them, muſt be ſatisfied with what the Teller will reveal in the Matter; but he bow'd and knealt, either with Thanks to the Woman, or in Reverence to the Memory of *Samuel*, who vouchſaf'd to appear in his Behalf, and (by her) ſo graciouſly to anſwer his Requeſt; for why ſo many Words in framing this Apparition to the Woman, ſo many Words, affirming that *Saul* ſaw nothing, and yet not the leaſt Item of his appearing to *Saul* himſelf; but the Dialogue continuing

ſtill

ſtill betwixt *Saul* and the Woman, ſhe perſonates *Samuel* none otherwiſe than the Advocate perſonates his Client when he pleads for him, *Then ſaid Samuel to Saul*, (tho' *Saul* ſought the Mediation of the Woman, it was not from her that he expected his Inſtruction, but from the Apparition of *Samuel*; neither did the Woman pretend to inform him of herſelf, before *Samuel* appeared; and then the things to be ſpoken of, relating particularly to *Saul* and *Samuel*, more than to the Woman, who was but a Mediatrix, it was proper for her then to perſonate *Samuel*, whom *Saul* could not ſee, and to name Things that pertained to them, and not at all to herſelf, as the following Words do ſhew; *Why haſt thou diſquieted me? Samuel*, if any, not the Woman, was diſquieted. And there-

therefore as the Lawyer takes upon him to perſonate his Client, becauſe he is the Party concerned; ſo this Woman doth the ſame here, to utter the Words which were proper for *Samuel* to have uttered, if he had really appeared; and they are true Words in themſelves, for it muſt have been a great Diſturbance to holy *Samuel*, to be fetch'd from Heaven, or from the Grave, to pleaſure a wicked King and a curſed Woman. But the Words muſt be falſe, if the Apparition was true, for *Samuel* could not be diſquieted in going upon God's Errand, as this muſt be; for God's Permiſſion, ſo often alledg'd in this Caſe, is not ſufficient; it cannot make the Devil a God, to create, to raiſe up the Dead, to Inſpire, to Transform, to make a Woman a Hare, and an Elephant of a Bee's Knee.

Knee. Have a care, Mortal Men, of ſuch ſurprizing Incongruities, yea Impoſſibilities to Nature, and blaſphemouſly put upon God himſelf, making him the Author of what he utterly abhorrs and abſolutely forbids. Obſerve what *Saul* anſwers to this Reproof (pray excuſe me, I could not help it,) *I am ſore diſtreſſed, the Philiſtines make War againſt me, and God is departed from me, and anſwereth me no more*; God himſelf muſt be taxed, and made the Cauſe of our Extravagancies. As we run to Churches to thank him for the Succeſs of the enormous Crimes that we commit, ſo pray hear this Leſſon, ye careleſs Men; *Then ſaid Samuel, wherefore then doſt thou ask of me, ſeeing the Lord is departed from thee, and is become thine Enemy?* Ye that are but fallible Men, have a care of

finding Fault with God; if God will not, the whole Creation cannot relieve you; you particularly, that are ſo much for Witches and Apparitions, ſee the Impoſſibility of them, for God is not there; *If ye do Evil*, i. e. if you go about an unlawful thing, God leaves you, and no Good will come of it; and if any Succeſs appears, it is the worſe for you, as it was for *Saul, Confuſion and utter Deſtruction*: After the Declaration of which, in the 17th, 18th and 19th Verſes, the Effect follows, Ver. 20. *Then Saul fell ſtraitway all along upon the Earth, and was ſore afraid, becauſe of the Words of Samuel; and there was no Strength in him, becauſe he had eaten no Bread all the Day, nor all the Night*; ſo great was his Diſtraction, that he minded nothing but his wicked Deſign. The Con-

cluſion

cluſion of all this is in the 19th Verſe; *Moreover the Lord will alſo deliver Iſrael with thee, into the hands of the Philiſtines; and to Morrow ſhalt thou and thy Sons be with me: and the Lord alſo ſhall deliver the Hoſt of Iſrael into the Hands of the Philiſtines:* which ſhews how much God is provoked, when he permits a wicked King to rule over a People, the whole Nation ſuffers by it. The End is, the *Saul* is left to the Woman's Care to Succour him; but the laſt Words are not eaſily underſtood, *To Morrow thou ſhalt be with me*; that they were meant of his Death, all do own; but the Words *to Morrow*, and *with me*, ſeems to have ſomething of the former juggling, *the Gods aſcending out of the Earth*; for we have noted, that *Saul* did not die the next Day after his being at *Endor*; and the

Hiſtory of *Saul*'s Life will hardly permit us to underſtand Heaven, where we faithully believe that *Samuel* was, nor yet *Ramath*, where he was buried, and from whence we hold it impoſſible for all Witches, and even the Devil himſelf to remove any Body; and God himſelf never did, but by a great Miracle, and for the Confirmation of that Chriſtian Article of Faith, the Reſurrection of the Dead, and particularly to bear Teſtimony of our bleſſed Saviour's Reſurrection.

As to the great Miracle which our Saviour wrought upon the *Two*, St. *Mark* ſaith *One* Demonaick, becauſe perhaps one appear'd to Chriſt before the other, or becauſe there was ſomething more remarkable in the Madneſs of the one than that of the other; as is conſtantly

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obſerved, that among a Multitude afflicted with the ſame Diſeaſe, every one hath ſome Symptom diſtinct from the others, and in no Diſtemper ſo much to be taken Notice of, as in the *Epilepſy* and *Lunacy*, which the Heathen never fail'd to aſcribe to the working of ſome Dæmon or other; as the Roman Catholicks do to their Saints, whom they have tranſlated into Dæmons by their Canonization, and to whom they preſently apply for cure; as for Example, (and to name no more) to the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, in Caſe of Child-birth, for they have made her an univerſal Midwife. But to return to the Hiſtory; I declare my Sentiment, that all the Errors in this Caſe might have been prevented, if Tranſlators had been careful at the firſt not to confound the Word *Dæmon* and that of

Devil

Devil together, and had well informed Chriſtians of their Difference. Did Men know and believe theſe Things, (which nothing but ſtrong Prevention and Negligence keeps them from knowing) 1. That *Dæmon* is a good Word, where-ever it is uſed for a *God*, rather than a *Devil*. 2. That *Dæmons* were imagined by the Heathen to be dead Men, who having deſerved well, were arriv'd to another State of Glory and Honour, and to a Capacity of working extraordinary Things; that therefore ſome Reverence and Worſhip is due to them from Mortals. This the holy Scripture declares, and all Chriſtians ought to believe to be nothing at all but Deluſion, readily receiv'd and cunningly made uſe of by vile and ungodly Men, for ſecular Ends. 3. That the Heathen and

Roman

Roman Catholicks did, and do to this Day, aſcribe to their ſuppoſed deified Men, the Miracles, and all extraordinary Events, which indeed are, or ſeem to be, above Nature; and thence ariſes the Superſtition and idolatrous Worſhip that is render'd to Creatures. 4. Did Chriſtians believe and profeſs that which they cannot but know, that we know nothing of the *Devil*, but what the Book of God tells us; that the Old Teſtament ſaith nothing of him, but under the Names of the *Serpent* and of *Satan*; that the New Teſtament never ſpeaks of him, but in the ſingular Number, that therefore we are to believe that there is but *One Serpent*, *One Satan*, *One Devil*; that whatſoever this *Devil* is, whatſoever Wit or Power he may have, or have had, the Seed of the Woman, which

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is *Chriſt*, hath broken his Head; That the Devil is in Chains, and ſo is a very inſignificant Fellow, far from that univerſal Monarchy of this World, having at his Command Legions of what, I know not how to call them, that he ſends up and down to tempt, tire and torment Men upon the whole Earth: Whereas, as to Temptation, St. *James* tells us, *Chap.* 1. *Ver.* 14. *That every Man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own Luſt, and enticed*: Let the Courts of Judicature put out of their Indictments, *that the Malefactor did kill or rob a Man by the Inſtigation of the Devil*; for the Devil was not there, nor knew nothing of the Matter. Therefore, O Chriſtians, look to your ſelves, and make your Peace with God, for He alone is to be fear'd! He ſees and knows, and

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he alone will judge and puniſh! *If HE be for you, it matters not who is againſt you!* As to all the Changes and Chances of this World, St. *John* inſtructs us very well, to all Intents and Purpoſes, 1 *John* 2. 16. he tells us of the Things that can bring any Miſchief on us, and all the Enemies we are to beware of, and fight with, *viz. The Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life.* Theſe are all the *Devils* we are to encounter withal, and which if we conquer and defeat, we are ſafe. *Laſtly,* If Men did believe, profeſs and practice this, *That to fear God and keep his Commandments is the Whole Duty of Man,* that in the Diſcharge of this Duty, we ſhall meet with all the Inſtruction we have need of, and all the Bleſſings that will make us happy, both *here* and *hereafter*; then we

ſhall fear no *Devils* to diſturb, ſeek to no Witches or Apparations of dead Men or Angels to inform us; for our good God hath laſt of all ſpoken to us by his Son. One thing therefore I add, and with it conclude this ſhort APPENDIX, and earneſtly pray to our merciful God, that he would be pleaſed to move powerfully the Heart of his his Servants, and particularly all Clergymen, to read over and over again, and reflect ſeriouſly upon what St. *Luke* ſaith, *Chap.* 7. 21, 22. *And in that ſame Hour he cured many of their Infirmities and Plagues, and of Evil Spirits; and unto many that were Blind, he gave Sight. Then Jeſus anſwering, ſaid unto them, Go your Way, and tell John what Things ye have ſeen and heard; how that the Blind ſee, the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleanſed, the Deaf hear,*

hear, the Dead are raiſed; to the Poor the Goſpel is preached. Here is diligently to be noted, that St. *John*'s Diſciples ſaw Jeſus caſting out Evil Spirits, and that they were to tell *John* all the Things they had ſeen and heard, and that is all that was to be told; for hear a notable Exception, both in St. *Matthew* and in St. *Luke*, they were not to ſpeak of the *caſting out of* Dæmons, for doubtleſs our Saviour's Omiſſion in the Charge that he gave them, was a Prohibition: And why was not the caſting out of Dæmons a Miracle, for it is named among them; or is it a leſſer Miracle than making the Lame to walk, or the Deaf to hear? Nothing of this, but there is a Reaſon for it that few Men give Attention unto. The Queſtion was, how to make it plain to *John* and

the whole World, and firſt to the *Jews*, that *Jeſus was the Chriſt, the Meſſiah promiſed unto Iſrael*; to do this, one thing was neceſſary and ſufficient, *viz* to prove that Jeſus was he that was promiſed of God by the Covenant of Grace, deſcribed by the Prophets, and the Works that he ſhould do ſo plainly marked, that they being well conſidered, it was impoſſible not to know him; therefore our Saviour tells them very often to be mindful of his Works, which teſtified of him; and of his doing the Works which his Father ſent him to do, and which the Prophet had ſaid he ſhould do. So that the Prophets having ſaid nothing, and our Saviour himſelf ſaying nothing of caſting out Dæmons in this Place, where it ſhould have been ſaid, had it been one of the Works

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neceſſary to prove him to be the Meſſiah; but it is neceſſary that he ſhould to that purpoſe cure all manner of Diſeaſes among Men, both great and ſmall, both ordinary and extraordinary Fevers and Agues, Lunacy and Madneſs: For, if Chriſtians would but conſider it well, an Ague hath as many ſurpriſing Things and Difficulties, as the poſſeſſing Spirits ever had, and thoſe that made the *Fever* a *Divinity*, were as much in the right, as they who maintain that the *Demonaicks* which our Saviour cured were acted by foreign Spirits that had entered into them. And if the Difficulty of their paſſing into the Herd of Swine cannot be anſwer'd by comparing it with *Naaman*'s Leproſy paſſing into *Gehazi*'s Family, I muſt ſtay where I am till they bring me Word what became of the Devils

vils after the Hogs were drown'd, and how they do now.

Foraſmuch as the main Argument which they have to prove their Witches and Apparitions, are the Stories they tell of them, whereof the greateſt part are ſufficiently refuted by the Relation: If God were pleaſed to give me Time and Health, I would endeavour to pay them in their own Coin, and prove by Stories within mine own Reach, how much the cunning and wicked Part of the World impoſes upon the credulous and ignorant.

FINIS.